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THE CLARKE PAPERS.

His Highness Hoo. Hoo. Hoo.
 Protector of Lubberland, and
 chief Captain of the night
 Guards.

I am resolved to rule in State,
 Not caring what the small Birds prate.
 I'll keep my Seat without control,
 If once I flush they'll call me Owl.
 London Printed by Tho Leach, at the sign of
 the Golden Rule in Shoe-lane.





A CARICATURE OF THE PROTECTOR RICHARD CROMWELL :

From the Clarke Collection.

Camden Society. n.s. 60

THE CLARKE PAPERS.

SELECTIONS FROM THE PAPERS OF WILLIAM CLARKE

*Secretary to the Council of the Army, 1647-1649, and to General
Monck and the Commanders of the Army in Scotland, 1651-1660.*

EDITED FOR THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BY

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PREFACE

THE documents contained in this third instalment of the 'Clarke Papers' are selected from volumes xxv. to xxxi. of the MSS. in Worcester College Library. Those volumes consist mainly of newsletters sent from the headquarters of the army in England, or from persons connected with the army, to the headquarters of the army in Scotland. Interspersed among them are a few private letters addressed to General Monck, and copies of other documents which came into William Clarke's possession during his tenure of office as Monck's secretary. Clarke had been left behind in Scotland in August 1651, when Cromwell marched into England in pursuit of Charles II., and there are many letters from him, giving an account of the progress of the subjugation of Scotland by Generals Monck and Deane. He acted as secretary to Colonel Robert Lilburne during Lilburne's command in Scotland, and when Lilburne left Scotland he recommended him warmly to his successor. After describing the position of affairs in Scotland to Monck, and stating the measures he thought expedient, he concluded: 'I presume to recomend unto you Mr. Clarke, an old Gentleman of the State's, and one that would bee most usefull and servissable to your selfe, havinge the transsactions of all affaires that have pass'd both in Major Generall Deane's time and myne in this Nation, and one whome I conceive you have sufficient experience [of], both for his abilitie and honestie, and knowes as well as I can informe you how serviceable he may be unto you if

you thinke fit to continue him in this place as Secretary, which he hath supplied since the late Major General Deane went hence, and wherein I thincke noe man could be more honest and active. Wherefore presuming that he is soe well knowne to you, and that his merrit will sufficiently speake for him, I shall not be further troublesome then to beg your pardon, and intreat you to be confident it is out of a reall respect and honour towards you that I have taken this confidence upon mee.' (*January 21, 1653 $\frac{3}{4}$.*)

A number of the letters and papers contained in volumes xxv. to xxxi. of the Clarke MSS. relate to the military administration of Scotland during the period from 1653 to 1659. These with other papers of the same nature have been collected and published for the Scottish History Society, in two volumes entitled 'Scotland and the Commonwealth' (1895), and 'Scotland and the Protectorate' (1899).

This volume of the 'Clarke Papers' contains therefore few references to Scotland. There is, however, a curious account of an interview between the Protector and the Scottish representatives in the Parliament of 1654, and there are some allusions to the debates on the union of the two nations in the Protector's Second Parliament (pp. 22, 80, 81, 96).

The greater part of this volume consists of newsletters sent from England to the headquarters of the army in Scotland in order to keep the commander there and his officers informed of the condition of affairs at home and abroad. Two or three such letters were regularly despatched every week by agents employed for the purpose, who were usually either officials or persons in some way connected with the army.

Of the newswriters whose letters appear in these pages, the chief were George Downing—sometime scout-master general of the army in Scotland, and subsequently one of Cromwell's diplomatic agents; Gilbert Mabbott, a connection of William Clarke's, many of whose letters are printed in the preceding volumes; and John Rushworth, the author of the 'Historical Collections.' All sign

the letters with initials merely. These newsletters are so numerous that it was impossible to print more than a selection from them, and in many cases a short extract from a letter has been considered sufficient. For much of the information which these letters generally contain is also to be found in 'Mercurius Politicus,' and it was not desirable to reprint matter already accessible, and in itself of no particular importance, which would have involved the exclusion of more valuable historical material.¹ On the other hand, these newsletters contain personal details about the Protector and other people of note which the newspapers do not give. They supply in addition a considerable amount of military news, as to promotions, movements of regiments, trials by court-martial, and other matters specially interesting to soldiers, of which the newspapers say little or nothing. They possess also a certain value as representing the impression which the political events recorded produced upon the army and persons connected with it, and the views which the military party wished others to accept.

The letter describing Cromwell's expulsion of the Long Parliament supplies an instance of this. There is an obvious attempt to soften and tone down the violence and illegality of the general's proceedings. Cromwell's denunciatory speech is merely alluded to as 'something said by the general;' the Speaker is described as 'modestly pulled' out of the chair, and Parliament as 'dissolved with as little noyse as can bee imagined' (pp. 1, 2). The letters which follow this contain many new details about the incidents of the few weeks which intervened between the expulsion of the Long Parliament and the meeting of its successor. Cromwell used his power with moderation, suppressing an abusive ballad against the late Parliament, which was sung generally through London (p. 3). But when eleven aldermen petitioned that that assembly might sit again, he told the petitioners 'hee took it ill they should goe about to

¹ Specimens of similar newsletters sent to and from one of the Protector's foreign agents are to be found in Robert Vaughan's *The Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell illustrated in a series of letters between Dr. John Fell, Sir Samuel Morland &c., 1658*.

obstruct the proceedings for the good of the people, and that himself and those about him (turning to the officers) would make good what was done with their bloods.' The subscribers of the petition were promptly deprived of any offices they held under the state (pp. 6, 8).¹ Other letters describe the schemes for a new constitution, and the selections of the persons called together to form the Little Parliament (pp. 4, 6-8). Its sudden conclusion is briefly related, and the expulsion of those of its members who refused to abdicate their power is told in the same way as the expulsion of the Long Parliament was. Twenty-seven members remained in the House, to whom 'Colonel Gough presently came, and with all meekness told them that he was fearfull their stay might prove prejudiciall to the Commonwealth.' They asked if he had any authority, and he owned he had none, 'but sweetly argued it with them,' and when they refused to be convinced 'he opened the doore, and presently entered one file of Muskettters, upon whose appearance the remaining part of the House withdrew' (p. 11).

In September 1654 the Protector called his first Parliament, and the dissatisfaction which the establishment of the Protectorate and the nature of the new constitution had produced among some of the officers began to reveal itself. Two Colonels, Okey and Alured, were tried by court-martial, and a third, Saunders, was called upon to deliver up his commission, for promoting a petition which attacked the Instrument of Government (pp. 10-12, 17). Two ministers, Feake and Simpson, preached against the Government, the latter denouncing the 'Triers' as anti-

¹ Another account of Cromwell's speech runs thus: 'The General told them, that what was done was done, that the King's head was not taken off because he was Kinge, nor the Lords layd aside because Lords, neither was the Parliament dissolved because they were a Parliament, but because they did not performe there trust; he told them that if any disturbance should hereafter arise about what was done that should occasion the shedding of blood, he should suspect them to be abettors and promoters thereof, and therefore warned them to looke to the peace' *Tanner MSS.* lii. 13.

christian, and saying 'that he could with as good a conscience goe to the Pope and his Cardinalls for their approbation as to them' (pp. 13-15). The Council of Officers, however, supported the Protector's Government, and presented a petition on behalf of liberty of conscience, which Parliament was then threatening to restrict (pp. 11, 13). At the end of December horse and foot regiments were quartered in Westminster and guns planted about Whitehall and St. James's, on the rumour of a plot to overthrow the Protectorate by aid of the army in Scotland (p. 16). But these precautions were more probably the result of the widespread plot for a Royalist insurrection which had long been in preparation. 'It was not thought fitt to lett the blades goe on any longer who were att worke to have brought new troubles uppon us,' and therefore at the beginning of January 1655 many of the chief plotters were arrested (p. 17). On January 22 Cromwell dissolved Parliament, asserting that 'under their shaddow and thorow theire Howse and its resolucions, bryers and thornes were grown up, even to the hazard of all,' meaning that their hostility had encouraged the designs of the Cavaliers and the Levellers. Of this speech the newsletters contain brief summaries (pp. 19, 20).

In spite of the many arrests made the Royalists persisted in their design. The rising was originally fixed for February. 'Yesterday,' says a letter dated February 13, 'they intended to have taken away the life of his Highnesse, this day to rise in all the westernne partes, tomorrow in all the northerne partes of the nation' (p. 22). Through the vigorous measures of the Government they were obliged to postpone the date to March 8 (p. 27); but though there were gatherings of men in arms near Nottingham, Newcastle, York, Shrewsbury, and elsewhere, it was at Salisbury alone that action followed.¹ On March 12 Sir Joseph Wagstaff and Colonel Penruddock with 200 or 300 horse seized the judges on circuit at Salisbury and proclaimed

¹ For a full account of this rising see 'Cromwell and the Insurrection of 1655' in the *English Historical Review*, 1888, p. 323; 1889, p. 313.

Charles II. On the night of March 14 the party was routed by Captain Croke at South Molton, and the insurrection came to an end (pp. 25-30). The newsletters contain many details about the trial and punishment of the prisoners (pp. 32-38).

In the summer of 1655 the Protector made a considerable reduction in the numbers of the standing army and a small reduction in its pay which it was estimated would lessen the cost of the army by 28,000*l.* per month (pp. 39, 46, 49). At the same time a new standing militia of horse was organised in all the counties of England, partly to supply the place of the regular troops disbanded, partly as a military police to prevent future insurrections. England was divided into eleven districts, and a major-general appointed to command the militia of each district. The necessary funds were procured by a tax of ten per cent. on the incomes of the Royalists (pp. 39, 42, 50). In August 1655 the officers of the new militia were feasted by the Protector at Whitehall (p. 47). On March 5, 1656, the Protector made a speech to the Aldermen and Common Council of London, setting forth the reasons for the establishment of the militia and the major-generals, and explaining the beneficial results of the institution. 'This way,' he said, 'the Lord hath owned by making more effectuell than was expected, and by receiving a good acceptation with those who of late stood at some distance with us' (p. 65).

In September 1656 the second Parliament of the Protectorate met. The newsletters give a summary of Cromwell's opening speech, and there is also a notice of one made by him to a meeting of officers a few days earlier (pp. 72, 73). About 120 republican members were excluded (pp. 73-75, 85). After their exclusion the war with Spain was approved, many of the Protector's ordinances confirmed, and great activity shown in legislation. 'The whole House,' it was asserted, 'are unanimous in carrying on the best things for the good of the nation both spirituall and temporall' (p. 76). This harmony was interrupted by the dis-

cussions on the case of James Naylor, and brought to an end of the excited debates over the bill for legalising the position of the major-generals (pp. 84-88).

Still greater divisions arose over the proposal to make the Protector king. The newsletters prove that this was no new suggestion. According to one it had been actually moved in the Parliament of 1654 (p. 16). It was rumoured in May 1655 that the making of a new Great Seal was to be immediately followed by the crowning of the Protector (pp. 38, 42). In August 1655 a printed petition was circulated in London, in the name of the freeholders of England, urging Cromwell to assume the crown under the title of King or Emperor; but the petition was suppressed by the Protector's Council (pp. 48, 51). The revival of Monarchy had been again suggested in Parliament in January 1657 (p. 87), and when on February 23 Alderman Pack formally presented the draft of a monarchical constitution to the House, it can have been no great surprise to politicians. A newsletter dated a fortnight earlier says that 'many citizens of London' had been laying wagers 'that we shall have suddenly an alteration of the present Government' (p. 88).

Thurloe assured Monck that the scheme originated with Parliament and not with the Protector: 'His Highness knew nothing of the particulars till they were brought into the House' (p. 90). Another writer, probably John Rushworth, prophesied that the proposal would be carried in spite of the opposition of the soldiers. The majority of the Parliament, he said, 'are so highly incensed against the arbitrary actings of the Major Generalls that they are greedy of any powers that will be ruled and limited by law' (p. 91). Thurloe was specially pleased by the revival of a Second House. 'Wee judge here that this House thus constituted will bee a great security and bullwarke to the honest interest . . . and will not bee soe uncertaine as the House of Commons, which depends upon the election of the people' (p. 93).

The army opposed the scheme from the beginning. At its first introduction all the Major-Generals voted against it (p. 91), and the officers expressed 'the feares and jealousies that lay upon them in relation to the Protector's alteration of his title' (p. 92). Two addresses were presented by the officers to Cromwell on the subject, and Cromwell 'was pleased to use such tender and plaine discovery of his constant regard to his army and the antient cause of the honnest people under his government, and gave such Christian assurance thereof that amounted to a large satisfæction' to the deputation (p. 96). The excitement in the army seemed to be allayed (p. 98).

Parliament passed one after another the Articles of the Petition and Advice, with less opposition than was expected (p. 97). Some of them met with general approval. 'This day,' says a letter of March 19, 'the House passed the clause for Liberty of Conscience, and indeed much more to satisfaction generally than as in the Instrument of Government.' At the end of March took place the offer of the crown to Cromwell. Reports of three of Cromwell's speeches in the conferences which followed are in Clarke's letter books—the speeches numbered VII, VIII, IX in Carlyle's collection. As they differ very little from the reports which are the basis of Carlyle's versions, it was deemed enough to collate them, and to set down the various readings which Clarke's reports supply (pp. 99–101, 103). There is also a copy of the speech of the Protector on May 25, accepting the Petition and Advice (appendix number 30 in Carlyle), which has been collated in the same way (p. 112). Cromwell refused the crown on May 8, after a new petition against kingship, urging Parliament to press the Protector no further, had been presented to the House (pp. 108–110). Of the rest of the proceedings of the session the newsletters give little information, nor do they supply much about the second session of the parliament, which began on January 23, 1658, except a brief account of the opening of the session and of the Protector's speech (p. 132). Clarke's papers

however contain a report of the speech with which the Protector dissolved this parliament (speech XVIII in Carlyle). This is printed at length because it differs more than the others from Carlyle's version (p. 136). It supplies contemporary evidence for the tradition that when Cromwell closed his denunciation of the conduct of the House by calling on God to judge between his opponents and himself, many of the Commons answered by crying 'Amen' (p. 139).

One cause of this sudden dissolution was the deadlock caused by the refusal of the republican opposition, now triumphant in the Commons, to recognise the new House of Lords. Another was the imminent danger of an alliance between the opposition in Parliament and the malcontents in the army. A petition, intended to be presented by the republican party in London, was to formulate the programme of the military and civil opponents of the government (p. 180). The sudden dissolution frustrated this plan, and it was followed up by measures for the purgation of the army. Lambert, who had expressed his dissatisfaction with the new constitution, had been dismissed from all his commands in the previous July, though his pay had been for the present continued (pp. 113, 114, 119). Now in February 1658 Major Packer and five other officers commanding the Protector's own regiment of horse were cashiered for declaring 'their dislike of the present government,' after Cromwell himself had 'laboured to satisfie them' without success (p. 140). The officers in general, to whom, two days after the dissolution, the Protector 'spake in a very large discourse of about two hours,' were more easy to convince, and declared that this speech 'gave a general satisfaction to them all' (p. 139). Over two hundred signed the address presented to Cromwell on March 27 (pp. 141, 145). In March and April there was much talk of a new Parliament, and of something to be done to secure 'a more absolute settlement than the Petition and Advice doth hold forth' (p. 145). This probably refers to a renewal of the attempt to convert the Protectorate into a monarchy, which was confidently expected. Every

little thing which could be construed as evidence of this intention was noticed and commented upon. When the Protector's son-in-law, Robert Rich, died, it was observed that 'His Highness mourned three daies in purple (as is used by persons of his quality)' (p. 142). In May 1658 a report that the Master of the Wardrobe was having made up 'the two capps of crimson and purple velvet, worne onely by princes,' is said to 'make the people talke largely of kingship' (p. 150). Bordeaux, the French ambassador, who was an acute observer of English politics, reported to his government in March 1658 that he saw more signs of a disposition to make Cromwell king than to overthrow his power (Guizot, 'Cromwell and the English Commonwealth,' ii. 584, 586, 589, 596).

Among other subjects mentioned in the newsletters are the death and funeral of Blake (pp. 115, 118), the marriage of Skippon (pp. 115, 118), Fairfax's endeavours to obtain the release of his son-in-law, the Duke of Buckingham (pp. 123, 129), duels (p. 131), a celebrated trial (p. 125), and many miscellaneous items of London gossip. There are frequent references to the Protector's schemes for the reform of the law. The military party was strongly in their favour, though they 'much startled' the lawyers (pp. 61, 64, 76, 80). In a short speech to his second Parliament, which is not included in Carlyle's collection, the Protector dwelt with satisfaction on the many good laws they had made, 'the effect whereof the people of this Commonwealth will with comfort finde hereafter' (p. 83).

The letters throw little light on the Protector's ecclesiastical policy, though they notice incidents such as the sermons of Simpson, Sturghon, Feake, and others against Cromwell (pp. 13, 51, 62, 146), the debates about Naylor's case (p. 84), the expulsion of Quakers from the army (p. 122), and John Lilburne's conversion to quakerism (p. 62). Cromwell's answer to the petitioners on behalf of John Biddle is noted, apparently with approval (p. 53). An account of the 'Common Prayer Booke meetings' in London about

Christmas 1657 shows the extent and limits of the toleration allowed to Anglicans under the Protector's government (p. 130).

Among the Clarendon papers in the Bodleian there is a report of a short answer made by Cromwell on January 5, 1654, to an address presented by 'the ministers of the French church of London' which has escaped notice, and will serve to supplement the scanty information about ecclesiastical matters this volume supplies.

'The substance of his Highnesse answer to us was :

'That he saw we were pleased to take notice of what he had formerly said to us, wherein he had declared his heart to us, and had said it indeed, and did say it still. That we should goe on in one way, and that it should be his joye to see we would doe, as we had said we should : to live in the love which is in Christ Jesus, and to honnour our profession with a holy life (though for his part he knew no other wayes but we did soe), for whatsoever our profession were, that is that would doe it, namely the power of godlinesse. He did exhort us then to goe on in doing soe, and promised us his Protection, and that he would be ready to serve us. That he did hope that God would grant him the grace to keep his Arck in these nations ; and desired our prayers for him that he might improve that authority which the Lord had given him for the good of God's people.'¹

On the foreign and colonial policy of the Protector the newsletters themselves contain little of importance, but other letters among these papers, and the documents added in the Appendix, contain information of value.

In 1653 when Cromwell expelled the Long Parliament the war with the Dutch was still in progress, and there are occasional references to captures of Dutch ships, the movements of the English fleet, and the peace negotiations (pp. 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9). It seemed probable that England in alliance with Spain would take up the cause of Condé and the Frondeurs of Bordeaux. Lieutenant

¹ *Clarendon MSS.* xlvii. 268.

Colonel Sexby had been sent to the south of France by the Council of State about the end of 1651 to enquire into the condition of the country and the temper of the people 'in order to prevent danger and create an interest.' He returned to England about the end of 1653, and early in 1654 presented to the newly made Protector the scheme printed in Appendix A (p. 197). It proposed that England should intervene in the French civil war by hiring out ships and men to the Spaniards. Six thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, paid by Spain, were to be landed in the south of France to secure Rochelle and other ports. Cromwell seriously considered the project. In October 1653 he had sent Joachim Hane, a German engineer employed in the English army in Scotland, to enquire into the condition of Rochelle and other fortified places and ports. Hane's narrative, which is among the Clarke Papers, has been printed, but relates almost entirely to his personal adventures.¹ By the summer of 1654 Cromwell had made up his mind to have nothing to do with Sexby's scheme, and at the end of 1654 a treaty between France and England was on the point of conclusion. Then, however, it was broken off, and when the royalist insurrection of March 1655 took place the French seemed disposed to take advantage of it to attack England (pp. 21, 23, 29-35, 37). On May 7, 1655, the French ambassador came to take leave of the Protector, 'and yet that afternoon the peace was revived,' and in October following the long delayed treaty was concluded (pp. 38, 61).

In 1655 a Swedish ambassador came to England to negotiate an alliance between the Protector and Charles Gustavus of Sweden. The newsletters describe the quarrel about precedence which took place at his reception between the Spanish and French ambassadors, and the rumour that 20,000 English soldiers were to be sent to the support of the Swedes (pp. 46, 49). Nothing for the present came

¹ *The Journal of Joachim Hane : containing his Escapes and Sufferings during his Employment by Oliver Cromwell in France from November 1653 to February 1654.* Edited by C. H. Firth. (B. H. Blackwell : Oxford 1896.)

of these negotiations. The Protector about the end of the year also thought of intervening in the war which had broken out in Switzerland between the Protestant and the Catholic cantons. Cromwell was zealous for the cause of the Protestants. 'Their want is monie' wrote Thurloe to Monck, 'which they pray a supply of from his Highnesse, who will strayne himself uppon this occasion, although itt can ill bee spared. All that concerns the profession of religion is att stake in this warre in these parts' (p. 63).

Cromwell was prevented from giving the Swiss the pecuniary assistance they asked by the cost of the war with Spain which commenced in October 1655. It was the natural consequence of his attack on Hispaniola and the conquest of Jamaica. An account of 'the grounds of undertaking the designe of attemptinge the Kinge of Spaine in the West Indies' and a very curious report of a debate in the Protector's Council on the subject are printed in Appendix B (p. 203). Both are derived from the papers of Edward Montagu, in the possession of the Earl of Sandwich. The Society is indebted to the Earl of Sandwich for allowing them to be copied, and to Dr. Gardiner for transcribing them. At the conclusion of the peace with the Dutch in the spring of 1654, the Protector found himself with 'a hundred and sixty sail of brave ships well appointed swimming at sea.' It seemed to him better and cheaper to employ them in some enterprise which would keep up the reputation acquired by the late war, and 'improve it to some good' rather than to lay up the ships (p. 207). The arguments which led to the employment of this fleet against Spain instead of France are stated in Montagu's first paper to very much the same effect as in Thurloe's account of the Protector's foreign policy. 'The attempt upon France,' recommended by Spain, 'was apprehended difficult and unprofitable, the Spaniard's aims beinge but to sett us two together by the eares.' On the other hand 'the attemptinge the Spaniard' was held profitable and easy, and also as advantageous to the Protestant cause as the weakening of France would be detrimental (p. 203). The Protector and his councillors

exaggerated the facility with which the Spanish possessions in America might be conquered and the Plate fleet intercepted (p. 204). The moment seemed to them propitious for the attempt because the Spaniards were 'engaged in a warr with France, and very weake everywhere at present.' Another argument was that 'the worke is like to be more acceptable to the people of all sorts and the Parliament than any can be.' But though the war was expected to be popular, it was as well to begin it when Parliament was not sitting. 'If this opportunity be omitted, it is to be doubted whether we shall ever be soe well fitted for it, or get the consent of a Parliament to doe it.' Moreover it was very possible that the attack would not lead to a war with Spain in Europe. 'Notwithstandinge our warr with the Spaniard in America, it is possible, if not reasonable to expect that wee may have peace and trade in Europe; for his necessitye of our trade will require it, but especially his interest in Flanders which he hath no way to relieve with forces or monyes but through our Channell, which if hee have warr in Europe he will certainly be debarred of' (p. 205). In the Protector's Council the chief opponent of the proposed West Indian expedition was Major-General Lambert. Apart from the cost and the difficulty of the enterprise, both of which he held to be underestimated, he urged that the reform of the law, the settlement of Ireland, and home affairs in general demanded all the attention of the Government. To this Cromwell replied that God had brought them where they were 'to consider the worke wee may doe in the world as well as at home'; and that to adjourn the attempt until the Government had a surplus meant putting it off for ever. 'It was told us,' he concluded, 'that this designe would cost little more than laying by the shippes, and that with hope of greater profit' (p. 207).

The expedition under the command of Penn and Venables sailed for the West Indies in December 1654. 'The designe,' says an intercepted letter, 'is secrett, knowne to the designer onely, whoe saith if hee thought his shirt knew it hee would burne it'

(p. 12). In March 1655 its safe arrival at Barbadoes was known in England (pp. 29, 41); at the end of June news came of the landing at Hispaniola, and of the capture of its chief city without opposition (pp. 44, 46, 48); in August the taking of Jamaica was announced and the truth about the disastrous defeat at Hispaniola gradually became known (pp. 47-8). A narrative of the expedition by an officer engaged in it, which contains many new details, is printed on pp. 54-60. The author is evidently of opinion that if the attack upon the city of San Domingo, attempted on April 17, had been persisted in, the city might have been captured. He describes the murmuring of the old soldiers in his regiment when they received the General's orders to retreat, and were forced to abandon their wounded comrades (p. 56). The regiment in question was Colonel Richard Fortescue's, in which the author of the narrative was then a captain.¹

Penn and Venables returned to England about the beginning of September 1655 and were both sent to the Tower (pp. 51-2). A Spanish ambassador, the Marquis de Leyde, had been negotiating in England since April 1655, but now asked for his passports (pp. 34-5, 38-9, 43, 53, 60), and Spain seized all English ships and merchants in its ports (pp. 52, 60). The breach was complete.

When the merchants complained of these seizures, the Protector answered that he would reinforce Jamaica with an additional army, and that he was confident thereby to repair their losses twentyfold, which gave great satisfaction (p. 52). To these reinforcements there are several references in these letters. A regiment under Colonel Humphreys was sent in June 1655 (pp. 40, 42, 43). Lieutenant-

¹ The MS. contains no indication of the authorship of the narrative, but internal evidence shows that the author was a captain in Fortescue's regiment when Hispaniola was attacked. At first sight the narrative looks like a letter from Jamaica, but on closer examination it seems rather as if it were a statement made by some officer in England on his return from Jamaica. If so it may be conjectured that its author was Thomas White. White was originally a captain in the regiment, became its major May 15, 1655, after the landing in Jamaica, and had leave to return to England on June 16. See also his petition, *Cal. State Papers Dom.* 1655-6, p. 61.

General William Brayne and two other regiments followed in 1656 (p. 86), but two hundred of Brayne's regiment and many officers were shipwrecked off the coast of Ireland (p. 77).¹

The Protector's second parliament approved of the war with Spain, but showed some reluctance to sanction the increased taxation it necessitated. The war was estimated to cost a million a year, and the military party, who were extremely zealous against the Spaniards, grumbled that Spain and Flanders could not be taken with a bare vote (pp. 75, 76, 81, 82, 85).

In March 1657 the Protector concluded an alliance with France, by which an auxiliary force of 6,000 English soldiers was to co-operate in the conquest of Flanders. The newsletters mention the raising of these troops, but the nature of their employment was at first kept a secret (pp. 95, 106, 107). The English auxiliaries consisted of six regiments of a thousand men each, levied for the purpose. Of these regiments the colonels were Sir John Reynolds, commander of the whole force, Major-General Thomas Morgan, his second in command, and Colonels Roger Alsop, Henry Lillingstone, Samuel Clarke, and Brice Cochrane. Morgan had previously served as Monck's second in command in Scotland. His letters to Monck, together with the letters of two other officers who had served under Monck, give an excellent account of the campaign (pp. 110, 116, 134, 160). One of these officers was probably Joachim Hane, the engineer employed to fortify Mardyke (pp. 120, 127, 129). Another was Richard Hughes, once Monck's lieutenant ('Scotland and the Protectorate,' pp. 100, 107), and during the campaign in Flanders lieutenant-colonel of Sir Brice Cochrane's regiment (pp. 124, 148, 150, 151, 159). The first service of the English contingent was at the siege of St. Venant, where

¹ It was originally intended to print the narrative of General Venables himself and several other accounts of the Jamaica expedition in the Appendix to this volume. These are 'the accounts printed in the Appendix' referred to in the footnote to p. 60. Subsequently it was judged better to print all these narratives in a separate volume, as they proved much longer than had been expected.

they distinguished themselves by the courage with which they stormed the outworks of the town. 'Marshall Turinn with most of the nobilitie in the army have had a high respect for us ever since,' writes Morgan (p. 117). Mardyke was captured in September 1657, and immediately handed over to an English garrison. The fort was weak, its outworks ruinous, and the whole place insufficient to afford proper accommodation for the troops necessary to hold it (pp. 120, 126). An attempt of the Spaniards to retake it by surprise was successfully repulsed (pp. 122, 124), but the garrison lost very heavily from sickness and hardships. 'We have about 2,000 men,' says a letter, 'but not accomodation for 600 of them; hence the shifts wee make for lodginge are very hard and unholesome, tending to the destruction of many every day.' The rest of the English contingent suffered almost as much. 'Our souldiers that lye up and downe in the French quarters sicken and dye very fast for want of good accomodacion, soe that by the next spring they will bee reduced to a very small number, if they hould on as they doe' (pp. 122, 123, 125, 128). According to Morgan the 6,000 were reduced to 3,000 by February 1658 (p. 135). But in the spring a large number of recruits were sent over, and also the greater part of the regiments of Colonel Salmon and Colonel Gibbon (pp. 119, 129, 149, 151, 152, 158). In May 1658 Turenne laid siege to Dunkirk, and the English regiments again distinguished themselves by the energy with which they attacked the outworks, carried on their approaches, and repulsed the sallies of the garrison. 'The English souldiers,' writes Hughes, 'behaving themselves very handsome, have gained a generall applause from all the grandees of the army; the French horse, who formerly hated us, have become very loving and civill, and had rather engage with us than with their owne foote' (p. 151). They lost many men in unsuccessful attempts to storm the counterscarp (p. 158).

In June 1658 Condé and Don John with 16,000 or 18,000 men came to raise the siege, and the battle of the Dunes took place on Friday, June 14. There are two excellent accounts of the battle

in these papers : one by Colonel Drummond, the other by Lieut.-Colonel Hughes. Lockhart's regiment particularly distinguished itself. 'Without vanitie,' wrote Drummond, 'that regiment has done what I have never seene done before, for they charged and beate a Spanish regiment off a hill more steepe than any ascent of a breach that I have seene' (p. 154). Hughes describes this sandhill, on which the Spanish right was stationed, as 'a great hill naturally fortified,' and says, 'our men on hands and knees krep't up the hill, and gave the enemies foot two good volleys, and with our pikes forced them to retreate' (p. 157). Both agreed that if the French horse had pursued with sufficient vigour, very few of the Spanish army would have escaped. As it was, the number of prisoners taken was nearly 3,000, and the Spanish infantry were mostly cut to pieces. Drummond received a mortal wound the day after the battle, while Hughes was killed about a month later, so that for the rest of the campaign there are only two brief letters from Morgan and Thurloe (pp. 160, 163).

Three months after the battle of the Dunes Cromwell died. The Protector had been ill in August 1655 and in January 1656 (pp. 51, 63). In August 1658, after the death of his daughter Mrs. Claypole, he was again 'visited with a fit of sickness,' described as 'a great distemper' too much like the illness he had in Scotland in the spring of 1651. 'Three days agoe,' says a letter dated August 14, 'wee had some doubts of his recovery . . . but now hee is pretty well recovered, and uppon the consideration of his mortallity will speedily resolve of something of settlement.' On the 28th the renewal of the Protector's illness is mentioned ; on September 2 it is said that there is good hope of his recovery (p. 161). On September 3, 'about three o'clock in the afternoon,' says a letter dated September 4, 'Death overcame his Highnesse (who overcame thousands uppon that day of the month in the yeares 1650 and 1651).' Four or five hours later Richard Cromwell was proclaimed Protector, the newswriter asserting that he had been nominated in writing by his father, which was no doubt

the accredited report, though according to Thurloe the paper could not be found (p. 162). For a moment after the Protector's death 'things looked very cloudely,' the Anabaptists 'spake words very loud,' especially Mr. Feake, and 'a great many of the Longe Parliament men flocked to towne, which bred some jealousy.' But the immediate proclamation of Richard prevented any disturbance, and the new ruler was quietly accepted (*ibid.*). 'It is a mercy worth all good men's observation to see all men thankfull in this change' (p. 163).

The danger to Richard's rule lay in the discontent of some of the officers and the ambition of others. The army presented a congratulatory address to Richard on September 18 (p. 164), but early in October a dangerous petition was in circulation asking that Fleetwood should be made commander-in-chief, though it was discountenanced by Fleetwood himself (p. 165). During October and November the officers in London met regularly every Friday to pray and expound places of Scripture. 'A very eminent spirit of prayer appeared in the officers,' says an account of one meeting, but they could not keep off politics, and in another 'the language flew high, and tended as some said to division' (pp. 166-168). Complaints were made of alterations in the army 'as if good men were put out and worse put in' (p. 169). On this the young Protector, who had made one speech to the officers about a month earlier, called them together again and made another, in which he complained of undeserved 'jealousies,' and protested his carefulness to protect 'the godly of the nation.' 'As they had consented in the proclayming of him Protector, so he hoped they would assist him in the government, for he stood much in need of their advice, being young and not fitted for so great a work.' The officers, 'except some few of the inferiour sort,' we are told, 'seemed to be much affected with what my Lord said' (p. 169). This stayed the agitation for a time, and when, in December, some troopers got up a petition for an increase of their pay, they were cashiered by a court-martial (p. 170). Richard, it is evident, did his best to

ingratiate himself with the army. He gave all the foot soldiers about London 'new red coats trimmed with black' for the funeral of the late Protector, 'which makes them not a little joyfull in his favour; and though the captains and other superior officers have no mourning given them, yet his Highness hath promised that which shall be of equall vallue thereunto' (p. 168). Moreover, early in January 1659, 'upon invitacion from his Highness all the officers of the army (not under the degree of a captain) received a royall treatment at Whitehall' (p. 173).

In December elections took place for a new parliament, and the newsletters contain a few details about contested elections in different places (pp. 172-174). Several eminent republicans were elected, 'yet they are conceived to be of no greater advantage than any other, because in all the debates for or against kingship, there was not one proselite or one disciple gained by what was argued by the wisest of men on both sides' (p. 173). It was estimated that there would be two to one in favour of government by a Protector (p. 177). Parliament met on January 27, 1659, and the Protector's speech at its opening gained him very great credit. He 'spake to both Houses with such a grace and presence, and with such oratory and steadinesse, without the least interruption and so pertinently to the present occasion, as it was beyond all expectation' (p. 176). So far as bearing and externals went it is perfectly evident from this and from other contemporary evidence that Richard made a very presentable sovereign, and that the rusticity and clownishness attributed to him are royalist fictions. There is a letter from William Hooke to John Winthrop in the publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society (Fourth Series, vii. 591), which gives a good sketch of his character, and confirms this view.

Speaking of Oliver's death, Hooke writes:

'His eldest sonne succeedeth him, being chosen by the Councill the day following his father's death, whereof he had no expectacion. I have heard him say, he had thought to have lived as a country

gentleman, and that his father had not imployed him in such a way, as to prepare him for such employment; which, he thought, he did designedly. I suppose his meaning was, lest it should have beene apprehended, he had prepared and appointed him for such a place; the burden whereof I have severall times heard him complayning under since his comming to the government, the weighty occasions whereof, with continuall oppressing cares, had drunk up his father's spirits, in whose body very little blood was found when he was opened: the greatest defect visible was in his heart, which was flaccid and shrunk together; yet he was one that could beare much without complayning, as one of a strong constitution of brayne (as appeared when he was dissected) and likewise of body. His son seemeth to be of another frame, more soft and tender, and penetrable with easier cares by much, yet he is of a sweete countenance, vivacious, and candid, as is the whole frame of his spirit, onely, naturally, inclyned to choler. His reception of multitudes of addresses, from Townes, Cities and Countyes, doth declare, among severall other indiciums, more of ability in him, then could ordinarily, have beene expected from him. He spake also with generall acceptacion and applause, when he made his speech before the Parliament, even farr beyond the Lord Fynes.'

The problems before the young Protector's government were many and serious. Abroad there was the question of the control of the Sound, for which Sweden and Denmark were contending. The Dutch supported the Danes. The English government, which favoured the Swedes, was attempting in conjunction with France to mediate a peace between the kings of Denmark and Sweden, and prepared to back its diplomacy by a fleet. To this and to the progress of the northern war the newsletters contain frequent references (pp. 166, 172, 183, 195). More valuable are the letters of George Downing from the Hague, describing the state of feeling in Holland, where a new war with England seemed imminent. The Dutch, according to Downing, thought that things would never be well

'till they have a little brought downe the courage of the English' (p. 170). They were fitting out ships and imposing fresh taxes, while the English Parliament was apathetic, or too impatient of taxation to make the necessary preparations. 'I know not anything so much talked of at this time as the Parliament at London, and its judged twenty to one odds that the issue of it will be nothing but janglings about questions in the ayre' (pp. 175, 177). Downing also condemned in the strongest terms the economic policy of England, and demanded sweeping reductions in the customs tariff, which he termed 'an unpassable barr to trade' (*ibid.*).

In domestic affairs the chief questions were the recognition of the new ruler (pp. 179, 181), the right of the Scottish and Irish representatives to sit in the House of Commons (pp. 176, 185, 186), and the authority of the House of Lords (pp. 179, 181, 183, 185, 188). A petition for the restoration of a parliamentary republic which was largely signed about London was presented to the House of Commons on February 15: it was identical with the petition whose presentation the late Protector had prevented by dissolving parliament so suddenly in February 1658, but it appears to have fallen rather flat (pp. 180, 182). More excitement was caused by the release of Major-General Overton and his triumphant entry into London, which reminded people of the similar re-entry of Prynne and his fellow-sufferers in 1640 (p. 184). In February the agitation in the army began again, and a committee of officers was appointed to draw up a petition to Parliament (p. 182). In April a general meeting of all officers in or near London took place, and the petition was agreed upon (pp. 187, 189). Parliament took alarm, and on April 18 Richard ordered the general council of officers to be dissolved, and all officers to repair to their commands (p. 191). A complete breach between the Protector and the army followed. On the night of Thursday, April 21, Richard ordered various regiments to march to Whitehall 'for the preservation of his person,' but they preferred to obey the orders of Fleetwood rather than those of the Protector (p. 193). Even his own regiment

deserted him, and he was left with only his lifeguard and about three companies of foot and two troops of horse (p. 213). He could do nothing but submit, and the next day he dissolved Parliament as the army required. Fleetwood, in a very disingenuous letter to Monck, gives a brief account of this revolution, and repudiates the idea that the army was responsible for the dissolution. 'I beleive some will very evilly represent us in this action, as if wee had forced the Parliament, though his Highnesse by his owne authority did dissolve them, in which the army did stand by his Highnesse' (p. 194). A week after the dissolution Lambert and other officers whom the late Protector had cashiered were received back into the army, and the council of officers was considering whether to recall the Long Parliament or to set up a new government (pp. 195, 196).

In Appendix C there is a letter giving an account of the proceedings which led to the fall of Richard Cromwell as they appeared to a sympathiser with the army. Nehemiah Bourne, its author, lays claim to special knowledge of what went on in the councils of the army (pp. 212, 213). He affirms positively that the movement originated with 'the generality of the officers of the army' instigated by the republican party outside it, not with the superior officers (p. 211); and that after the dissolution of Parliament 'all indeavours were made by the principal ofisers in the armie to pece and mend up that crakt government,' and maintain the Protectorate (p. 213). But 'the meaner sorte of the ofisers, together with the honest people that flocked in to them,' insisted on the restoration of the Long Parliament (p. 214). Bourne's narrative also shows that the army fully believed that many of the members of parliament who supported Richard were in reality royalists, and that Richard, 'who they would have made soe much haste to dress and set on horsebacke, was but to warme the saddle for another whom they better loved and liked,' *i.e.* Charles II. (p. 211). For this very curious and valuable letter the Society is indebted to the kindness of Mr. W. W. Dodge of Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The caricature of Richard Cromwell, which forms a frontispiece to this volume, is in the possession of Worcester College, and is bound up with a number of folio pamphlets relating to the period collected by William Clarke. The original is coloured.

In this volume, as in the two earlier ones, the contractions of the original documents have been extended, and the punctuation altered where it seemed necessary. A fourth volume, containing newsletters written in 1659, and a number of papers relating to the movements of General Monck and his march into England, will complete the series. The index is reserved for volume IV.

C. H. FIRTH.

October 23, 1899.

THE CLARKE PAPERS

Newsletters written in 1653¹

*Westminster, April 23, 1653.*²—His Excellency and severall f. 12.
officers of the army treating on the Tuesday before with many of the best Members of Parliament about putting the government of the nation into some honest and able persons till a new representative should bee chosen (for that the bill resolved to bee carried on by Parliament was not for dissolving this Parliament but recruiting itt with such as probably would bee dissaffected, neuters, lawyers, or the like, which would destroy the publique interest of the nation), the Members promised to consider and give in their judgements therof the next day, and in the interim would indeavour to keepe the bill from passing. But this being told to most of the Members, the House (in the Generall's absence) called the next morning for the bill, and before his Excellency could come had neere past itt (contrary to promise as was then told to them), whereuppon after something said by the Generall, Captain Scott marched into the House with parte of his companie, and tooke the Speaker's mace, and himself refusing to come out of the chaire was (modestly) pull'd out by a Member of Parliament and army: and soe the

¹ The letters for 1653 are all from vol. xxv. of the Clarke MSS. in Worcester College Library.

² Printed in the *English Historical Review* for July 1893, with other documents relating to the Expulsion of the Long Parliament.

Members walk't out, and the Parliament was dissolved with as little noyse as can bee imagined: Alderman Allen was a little while under confinement for some words, but noe other Member. They are generally displeas'd, unlesse some few of them who (itt's thought) will bee made use of for the next Governours, none being yet chosen. They are to bee 21 in all (wherof 3 only to bee of the army, vizte. the Lord Generall, Major Generall Lambert, and Lieutenant Generall Fleetwood). Those of the Parliament that are already come in are, Major Salway, Colonel Bennett, and Mr. Walter Strickland. The people are very calme and pleasant, expecting great and good thinges to bee speedily done for the nation. The forraine Ambassadors will still continne their addresses to those impowr'd from the army, where Commissary Generall Whalley sitts in the chaire. There are 100 saile of shippes ready to goe forth, which will bee as gallant a fleete (with those already out) as ever England sett forth.

- 13b. *Westminster, April 26, 1653.*—Yesterday the Lord Generall sent his Secretary to the Lord Maior and the rest of the Justices att the Sessions, desiring none condemned for theft or any other crime (save only for murther) may att present bee executed, wheruppon the Court reprieved them till further order.¹ The persons intended to governe for some time are nott yet chosen, only there sitts severall of the late Members, vizte. Major Salway, Mr. Cary, Colonel Stapley, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Mr. Strickland, and others, advising and consulting about settling the affaires of the nation; severall more (itt's thought) will speedily bee added to them. Major Generall Lambert, Major Generall Harrison, and severall officers of the army sitt likewise daily about the affaires of the armie. The seales were yesterday opened and made use of in preparacion to this next terme, for most of the Judges (itt's said) are satisfied to act. Colonel Grosvenor is coming to Scotland to give the ground of the late proceedings. Lieutenant Colonel White is intended for Ireland uppon the same account. Major

¹ See Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, ii. 217.

Generall Disbrowe hath refused the command of Scotland, and Commissary Generall Whalley is now conceived to bee the man. Sir Henry Vane is discontentedly or politiquely gone into the countrie. Sir Arthur Heslerigge, Lord Bradshaw, St. John, and all the grandees are much troubled att this revolucion.

Westminster, April 30, 1653.—An answer came this weeke f. 37. from the States General to the letter of the late Parliament, wherein he takes notice of the Parliament's inclinacion to unity and peace, which they likewise desire, and in order thereunto propose that a convenient tyme and place may be appointed for Comissioners on both sides to treat. This lettre was directed to the Parliament, but opened by the army, whoe it's presumed are inclinable to an accomodacion if the termes be safe. The late Speaker sent this lettre to Habberdashers' Hall, and subscribed himselfe 'William Lenthall Speaker.' The Lord Bradshaw likewise at the Court of Articles openly blaimed a Councell for pleading in the name of the late Parliament, saying that the Parliament was not dissolv'd though under force. Most of the Judges sits and acts upon this account (the termes being as full as ever), though the House of Peeres was never yet denied by them to be dissolved upon the like scoare, being a parte of this Parliament, which they say cannot be dissolv'd unlesse by their owne consents. There are 6 Sweedish ships come and a party, seemingly forc't in by a parte of our fleet, laden with pitch, tarre, cordage &c. which our State will fully paie them for. A scandalous ballade was this weeke sung generally through London, and bought by most, the burthen whereof was 12 Parliament men for a penny. His Excellencie desir'd the Lord Maior to suppress it, which he did accordingly, and hath since imprisoned the printer.¹ The old Postmaster petitioned his Excellencie to be continued in his employment. The petition and whole busines of post lettres is referred to Major Generall Lambert and Major Generall Desborow.

¹ Printed in *Thomas Wright's Political Ballads published during the Commonwealth*, 1841, p. 126.

His Excellencie, Major Generall Lambert, Mr. Strickland, Major Generall Harrison, Sir Guilbert Pickering, Colonel Stapley, Mr. Cary, Colonel Sydenham, Colonel Bennet, and Major Salway continue sitting as a Councill till the Governours be chosen (which wilbe within 5 or 6 daies longer), and have appointed two Committees to examine the abuses of the Fleete prison and treasurers at Ely House and report. The fleet consisting of 190 sayle are joyned in the Downes. The Committee for inspeccion and the Committee for the army sit and act still.

38b. *Westminster, April 30.*—The management of the Governement is now resolved to bee by a Sanedrim or 70 of the best men that can bee thought of through England, who are already pitch't uppon, and wee shall shortly see their names in a paper to bee printed for like satisfaction of the nation.¹ These shall have the supream authority, and bee called Custodes libertatis Reipublicæ Anglicanæ. Noe professed lawyer is to bee of the number, nor must any Member of this optimacy hold any beneficiall office of the Commonwealth. If any of the army bee chosen wee heare they must lay downe their commissions, but whether they shall soe continue time will discover. 4 Scotchmen are to bee of the aforesaid number to represent their nation. These are nott to excede 2 yeares in their sitting. And att the period of time they are to choose other 70 to succede them, and soe on forwards, unlesse they shall judge this nation capable of their former government by Parliaments.

f. 42. *Westminster, May 7, 1653.*—The Councell of State hath this weeke nominated 2 Committees consisting for the most parte of the officers of the army, the one to consider and examine the accounts of the nation, and how the vast treasure thereof hath bin expended, and the other a Comittee of Irish and Scottish affaires, and to manage the affaires of the nation. They likewise ordered, that the Deputies of Scotland residing heere should have notice given them of their intencions speedily to renew the power of, and give further time to, the Commissioners of Administracion of justice

¹ Compare Ludlow's *Memoirs*, i. 358, ed. 1894.

in Scotland to act, and if they had anything before to offer concerning that businesse they might bee heard. The Committee of the army consisting of officers have ordered a letter to bee sent to the forces in Ireland and Scotland of the grounds of this late revolution. Itt is likewise intended to bee sent to all garrisons in England. They proceede in nominating persons in the severall counties to sitt as a Counsell, and are in hand with the draught of the large Declaracion. Mr. Strickland is sett downe for Yorkshire, Captain Howard for Cumberland, Colonel Fenwick for Northumberland, and soe others for other counties. About 300 Dutch merchants shippes going round by Scotland homeward, 6 of them nott good sailers very richly laden were taken by one of our private men of warre. Our fleete consisting of 112 sayle are sayled to the Texell to intercept this fleete, where the Dutch have 70 men of warre to receive them; wee expect daily to heare of an engagement. A Messenger is now come that tells us the Dutch fleete is fled unto and block't uppe in the Texell, and that we have taken 50 of their dogger boates.

Westminster, May 14, 1653.—The Councell of State have this f. 51b. weeke appointed Lientenant Colonel Kelsay, Captain Deane, Mr. Jackson, Treasurers to the Commissioners of excise, and 2 more citizens committed to consider how all the treasury of this Commonwealth may bee managed for the best advantage therof. They likewise sent for all the Trustees for sale of Delinquents' lands, Byshops', Deanes' and Chapters', and crowne lands, to give an account what monies remayne in the Treasuries. They have likewise consider'd of selling and disposing of the lands in Ireland. 4 theeves who lately rob'd the Committee of estates' treasure came yesterday to rob Mr. Scotts' chamber (a late Member of Parliament), and being betrayed were apprehended about 9 in the morning, and by the Councell committed. 3 Commissioners are come from Burdeaux, and applyed themselves yesterday to his Excellency, their businesse is nott yet knowne. Captain Bodiloe is with his fleete come into the Downes, hee hath brought in besides his fleete

4 shippes, one of which proves prize. Thursday last lettres came from the Generalls that they wanted a dayes sayle from the Dutch fleete, but were in great hopes to overtake them. His Excellency and severall officers of the army began this day to consider of 70 persons to bee elected to sitt as Counsell till a Representative bee chosen, who shall elect them, and what the qualificacions shall bee made concerning their eleccion.

f. 56b. *Westminster, May 21, 1653.*—Wednesday the Lord Maior brought downe his Excellencies picture to him, which hee tooke off the Exchange, over which was written, God save the Kinge. The same day the souldiers with a civill officer went into the Temple, and served an execution uppon a gentleman for debt, and brought him out of that priviledg'd place. Generall Blake went this day towards Plymouth with parte of his 40 men of warre, who are ready to goe out with him.

Alderman Andrewes presented a petition to his Excellency subscribed by himself and 10 Aldermen with some others: Alderman Estwick made a large speech att the delivery of it, which was disrelished by the Generall. The substance of the petition was, that the late Parliament might sitt againe, and that they might chuse a new representative according to the ancient fundamentall lawes of the nation. The Generall told them hee tooke itt ill that they should goe about to obstruct the proceedings for the good of the people, that himself and those about him (turning to the officers) would make good what was done with their bloods &c. This answer not satisfying them they went to the Councell of State with another petition, where they had much more sniffing but went away free men. The stronger guards are heeruppon kept about the cittie, and such as subscribed the petition removed from their publike employment, and their salaries converted to a generall use. Colonel Thompson is disabled from being a Commissioner of the Navy and Customes, Alderman Allen and Mr. Dennis Bond to bee noe longer of the Committee for inspeccion of treasuries (and Colonel Rich and Colonel Bennett in their roomes), nor Mr. Wins-

lowe and Mr. Waring of the committee att Goldsmiths Hall, and the Clarke of the Ordnance of the Tower acted [outed?] uppon that account. Colonel Pride is chosen one of the Representors for the citty of London, but Major Generall Lambert, Comissary Generall Whally, Colonel Twisleton, and other officers of the army, being like to bee chosen, his Excellency desir'd the Councill to forbear them, in regard that those that are soe chosen are to lay downe their commands in the army.

The Zealanders having intercepted letters of the Jesuites intimating some designe against them, sent 12 Messengers to the States of Holland to presse them to a peace with England. The Lorrainers had kill'd many men uppon the borders of Holland, but by order from the Kinge of Spaine were recalled.

The Lord of Arundell of Warder and the Lord Shandoys were indicted at sessions, and found guilty of manslaughter, and had sentence to bee burn't in the hand (a strange doome for Noblemen). The Cavaleere uppon whose oath the Lord Craven's estate was sequestred, was indicted for perjury att the Upper Bench, and found guilty therof: for which hee is to stand in the pillory.

Westminster, May 28, 1653.—Wednesday last the Messenger *f. 60.* of the Councill of State that went with their last messag to the Stats of Holland returned with this answer, that they would send answer by Messenger of their owne, whome hee heard would bee 2 Ambassadors. This day Vantrump came into Dover roade with his fleete, haveing before convayed home all the fleete of Merchants, discharged many cannons against the towne of Dover, whereby some howses were prejudiced, but noe persons slaine. They are from thence gon up to the cost of France, but where our fleete is wee heare noe accompt at present. The Councill of State hath this weeke spent much time in debate of the Declaration for continueing the old Commissioners for assessments in the severall counties and the present tax upon the nacion for 3 moneths longer, this was twice read and committed. The Councill was informed that Mr. Russell, whoe signed the petition of severall cittizens for

recalleing the late Parliament, did continue to sit and act as one of the Councell of Haberdashers Hall, notwithstanding that vote to the contrary, they ordered the said vote to bee sent to him, and that [he] upon his penalty forbear to sit or act there longer. Mr. Smith, one of the councell of the navie, whoe declared his dislike of the said petition when hee signed it, and since to the Councell, is by vote restored to his said imployment. Thirsday the Councell named a comittee to consider of disposing the places that were vacant upon that petition ; they considered how the receipt of the custome and excize may be managed by and brought into office. This day letters came from Dover that the Dutch were sayled up towards the Goodwyns, and that they bent homewards. This weeke his Excellencie and officers have sat cloce in choosieing the persons to sit in the next Representative ; it will bee a busines of more time then was at first conceived.

f. 81b. *Westminster, July 5, 1653.*—The 4th instant his Excellency mett with the Members that were summoned by his Lordshippe to appeare then att the Councell Chamber, and declared to them the reasons why hee dissolved the late Parliament and summoned them to succeed them, delivering the power of the 3 nations into their hands ; for which purpose hee had signed and sealed an instrument in writeing by advice of his councell of officers, declareing their time of sitting to continue till the third of November 1654, and that they should issue out their writtes three monthes before their dissolucion for conveening the like number to succede them, and this to continue till the people bee capable of electing their owne representative ; and for the Councell of State, he had appointed them for dispatch of present and urgent affaires till they should thinke fitt to alter them. His Lordshippe concluded with a good, pertinent admonition, and then the Members summoned (which were neere the compleate number) adjourned till the next day att 8 of clocke to the late Parliament house, where they kept a day of humiliation for a blesing upon their meeteing, not any Minister speakeing before them (as was proposed) only themselves ; amongst

the rest was Mr. Squibb and Samuell Moyer. They have chosen the Lord Generall, Lambert, Harrison, Thomlinson &c. who were of the Councell of State, to be Members of Parliament, they appointed Mr. Rowse to be Speaker for a month, and Mr. Scobell their clarke. Our fleete att present is off the coast of Holland to take in victualls, but in 3 days will in againe. I have inclosed a list of shipes latly taken by them.

*Westminster, December 14, 1653.—A Relation of the Dissolu- f. 151.
tion of the late Parliament with the manner and circumstances
thereof, and the establishment of another power to carry on the
affaires of this Commonwealtth.*

Yesterday wee had another turne in the House they having dissolved themselves, and because various reports may goe, I shall give a hinte of the manner according to my best intelligence.

There were in the House two parties, one for the lawes, ministry, tithes, and the other against them, this latter partie had on Satterday last voted against the other and carried it, in a business wherin they were indeavouring to remoove scandalous ministers and to countenance the godly.

On Munday morning they coming together, the first party (of whom was Sir Charles Worsley,¹ Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Colonell Sidenham and Colonell Tichbourne) stood up, and Worsley began, told the Speaker that they had been a good while in the House but had not answered the people's expectations, but instead of seeking their good did what they could against them, endeavouring to take away their properties by taking away the law, to overthrow the Ministry by taking away tythes and settleing nothing in their roomes, and severall other things, so that for their parts they would sitt no longer, so that the major part of the House came out of the House with the Speaker and Mace to the Horse Chamber (my Lord Generall and officers being their).

Those of the House, being about 80 in number, drew up an instrument, and subscribing their names delivered it into my Lord Generall's hands, where they left all their power.

¹ Sir Charles Wolseley.

The smaller part, being about 27, remained in the House, where Collonel Gough presently came, and with all meekness told them that he was fearfull their stay their might prove prejudittiall to the Commonwealth, and probably to themselves (they being no House); they desired to know if he had any power, which he deneyed, but sweetly argued it with them, but they refusing to heare he opened the doore, and presently entered one file of Muskitters upon whose appearance the remaining part of the House withdrew. But here you must take notice, severall of these 27 came from the Horse Chamber, being of those 80 that resigned up their power.

Presently after this severall of the 80 and officers of the army mett, and upon serious debate concluded their should [be] a person who should be under the title of Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and should have a constant Councell, whose number should not exceed 21 nor be under 13.

Extracts from Newsletters written in 1654¹

- f. 164. Nov. 25, 1654.—The officers mett this day at James about the heads of the petition, and because their number was not so full as they expected they adjourned till the next weeke. . . . The Court Marshall sat in the afternoone upon the Articles presented against Col. Okey, which being read to him he denied them both as to matter and forme; and for what he had said he was so farre from denyinge as that he would seale it with his blood, and prayed that hee might have a copy of the articles, time to answer, and liberty to advise with such as hee shall think fitte. All which was assented unto, his time for answering beinge 14 daies. Col. Okey is in custody of the Marshall Generall.
- f. 167. Nov. 30, 1654.—The officers of the Army in a very full meeting yesterday resolved to live and die with his Highness and the present government, and sent some of their members to him to acquaint him therewith, and to desire him to take care for the

¹ From vol. xxvi. of the Clarke MSS. in Worcester College Library, with the exception of the two letters of December 21.

bringing about the due regulating of the Law, satisfying the publique faith, with severall such others formerly insisted upon.

Dec. 2, 1654.—Col. Okey's commission is either accepted or f. 168. some other private satisfaction given, whereupon his Highness hath ordered him his liberty.

Dec. 5, 1654.—The Parliament is yett upon the Government, f. 170b. and have resolved to sitt forenoone and afternoone untill they have gone through it. The most part of the last weeke was spent about the qualifications of Electors, and the persons to be elected to serve in Parliament, and many negatives passed upon them. An Act is to bee brought in against drinking of healthes, and for multiplying the fines of drunkards in manner as for swearers. It was resolved upon the question, that the persons that shall bee of his Highnes Councell, shall bee nominated by him and approved of by the Parliament. Our shipps have taken all or most part of the French Forts in New England. Yesterday was spent in perfecting the Bill for the next 3 monthes Assesments, and in reading the Bill for regulating the Chancery the first time. The officers of the Army having meet severall dayes at St. Jameses,¹ after time sett a part for seeking God, they drew up the inclosed, and presented them to his Highnes the last weeke, which hee received with much respect, assuring them of his assistance for the accomplishment thereof. The proposalls were presented by

Col. Ashfeild	Major Packer	Major Creede
„ Cowper	Lt. Col. Mills	„ Boteler
Lt. Coll. White	Major Blackmore	Captain Spencer
„ „ Mason	„ Winthrop	„ Empson.

Dec. 7.—Col. Allured was this day brought before a Court f. 171b. Marshall, and his charge beeing read before [him] the Court ordered him a coppie thereof, and 14 dayes time to putt in his answere.

¹ On the meetings of the officers at St. James's, see Robert Vaughan's *The Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell*, i. 80, 87.

- f. 175a. Dec. 16.—This day Col. Saunders also attended his Highness, and after he had declared his dissatisfactions, his Highness told him the trust which was formerly reposed in him must not be longer continued. Whereupon Col. Saunders replied, that he would speedily send for and deliver his commission.

An Intercepted Letter¹

- f. 16. Another squadron of the great fleete is gone. The Rendezvous is to bee at Barbadoes. The designe is secrett, knowne to the designer onely, whoe saith if hee thought his shirt knew it hee would burne it, and yet as seacrett as it is, possibly hee may not know God's designe therein, though he may his owne intencion. My thoughts are God's workeing wilbee beyond his invencion, for I doe much encline to beleive they may bee eminently usefull, it may be in destroying some notable obstruction, and of greate advantage to the Jewes (waite but a while and you shall see the salvation of God come to Israell). The present effect is startling to all nacions round about, all in a waiteing frame where this cloud will light, and its a head of encouragement to some weake or suffering Christianes, not knowing but it may prove there releife. Such is the provission for warre, the multitude and magnitude of mortar peices and cannons, as never the like went out of England, and is to the amasement of the greate prisoners in the Tower whoe have the advantage of seeing and wondring onely.

As to the army they are a travaileing wombe, still many throwes towards a birth which cannot be accomplished without the mid-wife, whoe is as hee sayth willing (though at the present not at leisure), butt when the sylent [*sic*] Parliament hath runne out its tyme, it may be the opportunity will be, and the delivering tyme come. The Parliament at present verry busy about herresy, what

¹ This letter and the following, both derived from vol. xxvii. of the Clarke MSS., were addressed to one of the officers arrested in Scotland for the plot known as 'Overton's Plot,' and were probably found on one of the prisoners. Probably Mr. Oates was the person to whom they were written. (See *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 240.)

it is, and to enumerate them. They have putt one Biddle in prison for denying the Holy Ghost to be God in order to his tryall, and if they should hang him they would not chainge his mind, though I thinke it bee a verry daingerous one, and thus in tyme theire tyme will have an end, with what publicke workes donne by them records will beare them testimony, for I cannott.

Colonel Okey by some greate ones in the army was accused for treason, butt by the pole of 2 more for him then against him hee was acquitted.

The army presented these particulers to his Highnes.

1. That liberty of conscience be allowed, but not to papistry in publicke worshipping.

2. That tythes be taken away.

3. That a law be made for the righting persons wronged for liberty of conscience.

4. That the lawes of the Nacion be regulated.

5. That all prisoners whoe are able to pay their debts and will not may be compelled.

6. That the poore be sett on worke.

7. That Articles be made good to those whoe have beene in actuall armes against the State.

8. That all just debts of the Nacion be sattisfied, whether money or goods lent upon publicke fayth, or just debts for service donne. An ould lesson not yett learnt, repetitions are good.

Mr. John Sympon is now come to London, and hath I heare taken of the prejudice which some friends had of him; hee was at Allhallowes yesterday, and opened Psalm 102; 19, 20, 21. Hee declared his sufferings for Christ, that it was in declareing against the sinnes of men, and though hee was accused for treason, yett hee never spake against any man but it was from the law of God or of the land, and therefore was not guiltye. He gave reasons why hee obeyed the order of banishment. Because liberty is desyreable, and hee might be usefull (and hath beene) in the country. And why then did hee breake the Order? Because

of reports by many was that hee desired to be banished from the Citty, and had noe mynd to come to his Church, and that it was given out from the Court that hee might come to London if he would, whereupon hee thought himselfe noe further engaged, but was bound to show his readyness to serve Christ and his Church, though he ventured his life in it. I rejoyce to heare of some striveings of heart among you. The Lord encrease it, continue it, and answeare it. In [?] Bristow I have heard was a high spiritt of exspectacion of God's powreing out his Spiritt, which now they judge is answered in the generacion of the Quackers, and multitudes there are taken heerewith, and the eminent in profession of grace too. I write this by way of cation, the Lord helpe us to be watchfull and faythfull to the end. Your Freind &c.

London, 19°. December. Mr. Feakes book is published entituled Defyance to the Father of Lyes.

Another letter of the same date from another hand

f. 17b. I have nothing of newes worth writeing, neither can I heare how affaires in the West are carried, because there is an extraordinary closenesse amonge them. Mr. John Simpson is come to London uppon Saturday last, and preached the next day at his wonted place, and on Munday in the evening alsoe. He seemeth to be of the same spirit as formerly, zealously protesting that he never did in the least swerve from these thinges for the testifying whereof he was imprisoned. He declared verie much the greater advantages he hath found in his spiritt dureing his sufferinges, the glorious presence of God that hath been within him, giving him greater joy and satisfaction then ever he had in all his life before.

As I suppose his text was Psalm 102 : 19, 20, 21, (though he had named it before I came), which words when he had opened he did aply them unto himselfe, as words which he had in especieall manner experienced the truth of in his owne spirrit. He encouraged

the saintes to persevere in waiting uppon God, being confident that the thinges in their espectacions are neere at hand, and among other discourse he tooke occasion to speake of these that sitte at Whitehall to try Ministers, and did protest against their standing as absolute Anti-christian, and their way as being altogether disconsonant to the word of truth, saying that he could with as good a conscience goe to the Pope and his Cardinalls for their approbation, as to them, and that he could rather put his necke in a halter or lay it uppon a blocke, then he could goe to those men at Blackhall for their seale. Next Munday to be observed there all the day if God permitt.

Yours &c.

Decemr. 19°. 1654.

Extracts from Newsletters

Dec. 21.—This afternoon Col. Allured appeared the second f. 176b. time before the Court-Martial, and upon his desire they granted him further time for the putting in of his answer, till this day sennight.

Dec. 23.—This day Mr. Feake and ten more of his church had f. 177a. above four hours conference with his Highness as to some dissatisfaction that lay uppon them, which his Highness (in greate measure) cleared before they departed. . . . Col. Alured gave in an answer to his charge on Thursday last, but denied both matter and form therein, and hath till Thursday next given him to put in any further answer.

A Newsletter

Westminster, December 28, 1654.—All this day the Parliament f. 179a. have bin in an House uppon the Bill for the Governement, except an houre which the House adjourned at noone, and they are like to sitt very late, I am persuaded they will not rise til 8 or 9 this night. They had passed the 6 first chapters, for soe they call those before called Articles, and are now this afternoone goeing on soe farre as they can. What else the Parliament hath done you may

see at large in the inclosed, onely this I shall adde, that a few daies since when the House was in a Grand Committee of the whole House upon the Government, Mr. Garland mooved to have my Lord Protectour crowned, which mocion was second[ed] by Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Mr. Hen. Cromwell, and others, but waved—nothing was done in it more. There is a regiment of horse more come up hither, and the foot draw close neare us here, and some ordnance to be brought to or neare Whitehall to be planted somewhere about the walles. The Generall rumour is of some plott discovered by the Papists (that are French) about London, but it is at present private. One of the senturies at Jameses that was in drinke, standing neare the Chappell doore in the night thought hee had seene a tall black man come to him, and pressing (as hee thought) to him hee discharg'd with a bullett, thinking hee had kild him, whereupon the souldyours and officers many of them tooke alarum, and came out, but saw noebody, seeking with lightes aboutt the place, yet since (here 2 nights agoe) another not in drinck being fearefull that it was a spiritt, as he said to some before hee went on the sentry, was frighted upon presumpcion that hee saw the like, and this some would make a bugbeare. Wee have yet noe newes from General Blake, the ships are all gone, the expedition from Portesmouth with a gallant wind, and General Desborow return'd last night hither. As for other newes I referre you to the inclosed.

Yours &c.

H. WAWKER.

Extracts from Newsletters

- f. 180. *Dec. 30, 1654.*—The bringing of severall regiments of horse and foote this day to quarter in Westminster hath given an alarm to all, the meaninge thereof not yet known. . . . The reason of contracting quarters, and doubling guards, and planting ordnance at Whitehall and St. James's is said to bee uppon a plot now in agitation against his Higness, whoe are [*sic*] to march an army out of

Scotland to joyne with some in England, and they are said to endeavour to secure his Highness person, and bring up a new modell of government to the Parliament, whereupon his Highness hath sent for some suspected persons of quality hither and spoke with several considerable officers of the Army, and if any such thing be I hope this timely discovery of it will nip it in the bud.

Newsletters 1655.¹

Westminster, January 2, 1654.—Itt was nott thought fitt to lett f. 8.
the Blades goe on any longer who were att worke to have brought new troubles uppon us, and therfore the last W[ednesday] night wee seized uppon some who had commission to raise forces, alsoe some armes were taken. The Parliament hath passed two-thirds of the Governement. The winde still continues easterly, soe that wee looke to heare noe more of the fleete till wee heare of their arrivall.

G. D.

Westminster, January 6.—In reference to the late plott men- f. 14b.
cioned in my last, many hundreds of pistolls weere brought downe hence by carriers, and [sent] on Munday last as tokens to disaffected persons in the country, callinge them in their letters so many douzen bottles of canary. And searcheing the gunsmyths' house from whence they came they found 4000 fixed armes; upon which the gunsmyth and severall others are now under examination. All the generall and field officers were summoned to meet the same day upon the triall of Collonel Allured; who desired them to present his petition to his Highnesse, wherein he acknowledged his Highnesse former favour to him, and desired his discharge, the matters beinge not cognizable by a Court Marshall. But the Court refused, and gave him time till Munday next to put in any further answer to his charge, and that day to proceed to judgment upon the whole matter. The House was againe this day and Tewsday upon the Bill of Government, and made a large progresse therein. Wednesday the House went over the businesse of tender consciences. Lords

¹ The newsletters for 1655 are all from vol. xxvii. of the Clarke MSS.
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Commissioners of the Seale and Lord Admirall as they were formerly voted. The Genoa Embassidour came in grate state Thursday night to Sir Abraham Williams his house in Westminster. Alsoe Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, many persons of quality from Kent and other parts were examined upon the new plott, and most of them committed, haveinge received Commissions from Charles Stewart to raise forces.

This day the Genoa Embassidour had audience, and prayed for amity betweene both Nations. Yesterday and to-day the Parliament ordered that a million per annum be issued by his Highnesse and Councell for payment of all the forces by sea and land, and to continue so longe as the Parliament shall heereafter declare.

Your Excellencies most humble servant,

GILBERT MABBOT.

January 6, 1654.

- f. 30b. *January 20, 1654.*—Munday last a report was made by the Committee appointed to consider of a Revenue of the Customes and otherwise, that 100,000^{li} per annum should bee added to the 300,000^{li} per annum for maintenance of the navy and sea ports, which the Howse assent'd unto, and ordered it to bee part of the Bill for Governement, but the time for continuing the payment of the 700,000^{li} per annum for the land forces is the question now in dispute. Majour Generall Overton was Tuiesday last sent prisoner to the Tower. About 4 of clock on Wednesday morning the House came to this result, that his Highnesse and Councill shall by their warrant issue out of the Exchequer 1,300,000^{li} per annum, 200,000^{li} thereof for maintenance of his Court &c., 400,000^{li} for the navall forces and Port townes, and 700,000^{li} for the land forces, which last summe is to bee continued [o]nely till the 25 of December 1659. Wednesday the Howse ordered that the Bill should bee ingrossed in order to be presented to the Lord Protectour, and if consent bee not given thereunto by the Lord Protectour and Parliament it shalbee null. Thursday the Howse sat upon the private businesse.

Friday the Bill being ingrossed was read; a provisoe was made for the setting of the Militia in his Highness and Councill in the intervall of Parliament, which held the howse all that day in debate, but came to noe result. His Highnesse haveing give orders for the transporting 3000 foote from Ireland nuse came that they were put in at Holy Head, but bound for Leverpoole; orders are likewise given for the marching of 6 troopes of horse into Scotland. This day a provisoe past for confirming all antient and legall grants and charters formerly granted to all the citties and corporacions in England. A provisoe likewise paste that noe Militia forces should bee raised, exersised, or armed but by consent of his Highnesse and the Parliament; severall provisoes more are left to bee debated though this bee the last day of the Parliament's legall Session.

G. M.

January 23, 1654.—Yesterday in the forenoone the Lord f. 32. Protector sent a short lettre to the Parliament, letting them know it was his pleasure they should forthwith meete him in the Painted Chamber, which accordingly they did.

His Highnes did there make a very excellent speech ¹ to them, declareing the greate hopes that he and all the people of the nation had in their meeteing for peace and settlement, but to his greate griefe and trouble they had spent their time soe as he could not know whether they were alive or dead. That divers sorts of people as Cavileers, Levellers, and others disc[ont]ented were like bryars and thornes grown up under their shadow, endeavouring the seduceing and disaffecting of the people from Magistracy and Ministry, and the private souldiers from their officers. And that they had [done] nothing as to liberty for tender consciences.

That they had brought the army to a necessity of takeing free quarter. That many of them too much manifested their dissatisfaction to the Government, notwithstanding their signeing the recognition agreeable to the Indenture.

¹ Carlyle's *Cromwell*, speech iv.

That there was secret plots and contrivances both at home and abroade, to hazard the nations into new and bloody warre, therefore he was necessitated to declare that from henceforth they should be dissolved. I doe not doubt but that he and his Councell will vigorously set upon it to doe and bring forth such good thinges as shall give generall satisfaction to all, except implacable enemies and restlesse spirritts.

- f. 32b. *Axyard, January 23, 1654.*—Yesterday the Parliament mett, and were in debate about some other provisoos to bee added to the Government. About 11 clock the Speaker received a letter from my Lord Protectour, which he forthwith communicated to the Howse, which was to this effect, that he did desire to speake with the Parliament imediatly in the Painted Chamber, whither they forthwith went, and his Highness comeing in spake about a hower and a halfe to them. The substance of his speech was to let them know the greate hoapes hee conceived at their first meeting, together with the happy posture those nations were then in of peace and setlement: that under their shadow, and thorow their Howse a[nd its] resolucion[s], bryers and thornes were growne upp, both among the Cavillere and Leviling men, even to the hazard of all: that hee could a bin heartily glad in all their five monthes time since to a heard from them, but was not soe happie, and that hee had sent to them, had hee not feared hee might have seemed to have bin an intrenshing upon their priviledges: that upon the whole hee thought it not convenient [for them] to sit any longer, and therefore hee did dissolve this Parliament. Whereupon every one departed without a word his severall way. G. D.

- f. 37b. *January 27, 1654.*—The next day after the dissolution of the Parliament his Highnesse refresht himselfe with the aire in Hyde Parke, where hee likewise dined. Wednesday his Highnesse spent some tyme about the setling of his Councell, wherein Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper hath not lately sat; but that the Lord Whitlock and Mr. Serjeant Glyn are added thereunto (as generally reported)

is not yet knowne. Thursday was spent in debating an ordinance for continuing an Assesment of 60,000^{li} per mensem. Friday they spent in a day of Humiliation at Whitehall (with some cheife officers of the army) seeking God for a blessing upon their Councillis. This day his Highnesse speech was passed in order to the presse, it being transcribed out of short[hand], but it wilbe Thursday next before it bee published. Major G. Overton is committed close prisoner to the Tower.

Westminster, January 30, 1654.—Generall Blake hath taken f. 39.
2 French shippes bound for Tolon from Turkie; his fleete is still before Lygorne, itt is apprehended hee will gett considerable reparacions from the Duke of Tuscany. 60 Cardinalls were come to Rome to assist the eleccion of a new Pope. There is a scurrilous pamphlett come forth yesterday intituled, A Declaration of the Excluding the last Parliament, butt itt is without any name to itt, nor owned by any. The French treaty is neere concluded on, butt nott yett fully ended. G. D.

Westminster, February 3, 1654.—His Highnesse nott having f. 43.
time to peruse his speech and correct itt for the presse is the reason why itt is nott yett published. A transcript hath bin made (this weeke) of the Bill upon which the late Parliament [spent] all their time, to the end it may be perused by his Highnes, and Councell, and that some satisfaction may be given to the nation therein. This, and the great busines of the raising of monys, hath [taken] up his Highnes and Councell these 4 last days. There was a designe lately to have surprised Bewmarris, but the designe beeing happily discovered, the cheife actor therein is apprehended. The 15 of the last month Generall Blake was safe at Leghorne, beeing put in there by fowll weather.

Westminster, February 6.—The Assesment is out att 60,000^{li} f. 43.
per mensem. There are some more plotters discover'd, together with divers parcells of horse armes. Sir Humphry Bennett of Surry, Colonel Thornhill of Cambridgeshire, Colonel Gray of

Northumberland, and one Weston are taken. Bennett had turned his whole estate into monies, and had expended very much therof in providing armes, and other necessaries, to goe on in the designe. There is alsoe one Reade who was solicitor to the Lord Craven, and was a prime carrier on of the businesse. G. D.

f. 44. *Westminster, February 8, 1654.*—The Members that served in the late Parliament for Scotland came to take their leaves of his Highnesse, and laying downe the heavy greivance of that nation by reason of a very numerous army his Highnesse told them, that the reason therof was because the Ministry did preach uppe the interest of Charles Stuart, and did much inveigh against the present authority, soe that there was a necessity of their continuance, but if they could propose any expedient with a salvo to the security of that Nation, hee was willinge to answer their desires therein: wheruppon the said Members are now consideringe of an expedient. Many dayes have beene spent uppon settleinge of the legislative power of the Nation. One of Sir T. Weston's sonnns, Collonell Grey, Sir Humphrey Bennet, and one Read, with 7 or 8 more, were yesterday apprehended upon the late plott, the last of which in his chamber was found many armes, and letters to him from Charles Stuart.

f. 45b. *Westminster, February 13.*—Sithence my last the inclosed order and declaracion for the next 3 monthes Assesment was published. His Highnesse. by nott making itt an ordinance hath modestly denied to assume the legislature of the Nation, though satisfied by many able judges and lawyers he may legally doe it. The Lord Howard's brother was yesterday burnt in the hand in Westminster-hall for manslaughter. By this time the last designe of the Caviliers was come to a ripenes, for yesterday they intended to have taken away the life of his Highnesse, this day to rise in all the westernne partes, to morrow in all the northerne partes of the Nation. Hereuppon his Highnesse dispersed all officers in towne to their commands abroad, called in hither the forces that came

lately out of Ireland, tripled the guards, and scoured the citty and 4 miles round with horse, and secured the last night most of the horse in the citty and suburbs, till their owners give a good accompt of themselves; but God be praised all is yet in quietnes, onely a greate fire (burning the Red Lyon Inne in Fleet streete with about 20 howses more on their backside) caused much concourse of people to quench it. This day his Highnes made a large and satisfactory speech to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and many of the common Councell, of the reall ground of this new intended warre, and afterwards read Charles Stuart's letter and many materiall depositions for proving thereof, as alsoe Major Wildman's draught of a declaracion (shewing the grounds of the same) when he was taken Saturday last, dictating of it to his clearke, for which he is now committed to Chepstow Castle, and will probably loose his life. A Commission was likewise read giving power to the Lord Maior, Aldermen, Major Generall Skippon, and others, to secure, disarm and raise forces for defence of the citty, but not any of these to be drawne forth without their owne consents, to which they did willingly agree.

February 24, 1654.—The citty have named Alderman Under- f. 52b.
wood, Alderman Tichborne, and — to bee 3 of their Collonells to comand their Militia regiments. They have issued out warrants to collect the next 6 monthes Assesment upon the order and declaracion of his Highnesse to that purpose, and sent a Comittee to his Highnesse to give him thanks for his care of their safety. The Lord Grey is sent up hether by a party, and is now under restraint. Majour Generall Harison, Quartermaster Generall Courtney, and Mr. John Carey are sent away prisoners in a coach and 4 horses westward, its conceived to Pendennis Castle. Collonell Rich hath leave to goe to his dieing wife in the country for some tyme. His Highnesse and severall of his Councill went Thursday last to Hampton Court to celebrate the nuptiall of one of his neece[s] married to Judg Lockyart of Scotland. The expected peace with France is neere breakeing off, if not wholly.

The report of the Duke of Yorke's landing is a mere storey of the Malignant party. This evening wee heere that Mr. Carey is sent to the Mount in Cornwell, Majour Generall Harison to Portland Castle, and Mr. Courtney to Cowes Castle in the Isle of Wight.¹

February 27, 1654.—Bagnell uppon his ingenuous confession and 2000^{li} bayle sett att liberty. Major Wildman's man that wrote the declaracion is escaped. The greate busines here now in hand is the settling Scotland and Ireland. My [Lord] Henry this day had monies voated for his expenses in prepareing for Ireland to be Councillour and Commander of the forces under the Deputy, yet he hath not as yet wholly given his assent to goe.

G. D.

f. 55. *Westminster, March 3, 1654.*—His Highnesse with advice and consent of his Councill hath past an ordinance for reviving the former ordnance against horse races for 6 monthes longer. And likewise an ordinance for reviving the Court of the Dutchy of Lancaster, wherein Sergeant Bradshaw and Judge Fell are continued judges till all causes begun and depending therein bee determined. The Lord Henry Cromwell is hasteing away for Ireland, his present commission is Majour Generall, and is likewise named one of the Councill. The Irish are unwilling to transplant or prove theire qualifcations, but they will bee forc'd to goe and make way for the English planters. Majour Wildman's servant is escaped out of Ludlow Castle, but himselfe not nimble enough to doe the like. The Lord Grey is removed to Windsor Castle. Colonel Rich is againe in the Serjant at Armes his custody.

f. 57b. *Westminster, March 10.*—His Highnesse and Councill have bin very busy this weeke in considering of faithfull and able persons in every county to bee entrusted with commissions for raising of horse and foote, which are to bee in the nature of a standing

¹ See Thurloe's letter to Monck on the imprisonment of Harrison and Courtney, *Clarke Papers*, ii. 242.

Militia, many clerkes being now imployed for drawing Commissions for that purpose. An informacion was given that the Earle of Ormond, Lord Inchiquin, Majour Generall Massey, had taken shipping and intended for England, but wee heare noe further nuse of them, however a party of horse and foote are marched downe to secure Rochester Bridg in Kent, and scower the parts adjacent in case there bee occasion. To prevent Majour Wildman's escape his person was this weeke removed from Chepstow Castle to the Tower of London. Colonel Sexby, being supposed to bee equally guilty with Majour Wildman in his intended designe, was like to bee secured in the West, and at Hartley Rowe a party of horse seized on his portmantua with some writeings of concernement therein, and likewise a sute of extraordinary armes, but himselfe escaped. His Highnesse and Councell resolveing to put in speedy execution theire former ordinance for regulateing of the Chancery doe hereby much displease the long robemen of the Nation. The nominateing a Lord Deputy and Councell for the Governement of Scotland is much spoken of, but not yet resolved. The French breaking off. The greate friggott uppon the stocks at Wollidg (3 foote longer then the Royall Sovereigne) is named the Naiseby, and will bee lancht within these 14 dayes.¹ 29th January last Generall Blake was saileing from Leghorne to Tunis Roade, where the men of warr belonging to Argier and Tripolis are to meete shortly.

Newcastle, March 13, 1654.—Friday night last a partie of f. 59b. Cavaleers was gott together within 3 miles of this towne, and did intend to have assaulted itt in 3 severall parts, butt they receiving intelligence that their plott was discover'd, tis saide are gone to Yorkeshire. Alsoe Colonel Lilburne writes that a party [of] Cavaleires under the command of Mr. Richard Maleverer was to assaulte Yorke, but being affrighted left 200 armes, one barrell of powder, and seaverall ledd horses at the hedges alsoe, at Hessam-Moore. In Nottinghamshire there was 500 of the old race did

¹ Cf. Evelyn's *Diary*, April 9, 1655.

randevow, but being in an affright, left theire cart load of ammunition and runn away; tis thought this plott was laide in moste of the countries in England, and I have had severall allarams of it in this place. Notice has bin given of it to his Highnesse. I onely waite to receive an answer of some letters from London, and to returne to attend your commands; 4 companies I heare are ordered from Barwick to this towne, it beeing valued by your eminency.

- f. 60. *Westminster, March 13, 1654.*—Yesterday night came letters from Collonell Hacker that a party of Cavaleires (given out to be a 1000 horse) [was got together] in Nottinghamshire, and that hee had sent 3 troopes of horse to discover them, but to bee tender of ingageing in case they weere that number. Captaine Cressett and another messenger came this morneing from Salisbury, and informed his Highnesse that 300 mounted and well armed Cavalieres tooke yestermorning about 4 a clock Judge Rolls out of his bed, and forc't his comission from him, and tooke Colonel Dove the Sheriffe prisoner, and secured the horse in the towne. Another informacion is come from Shrousbury of a designe in the Cavaleeres to secure that guarrison, for which purpose 20 horse with armes were laide privately neere the towne, and some few men had entered the Castle in women's apparell, but beeing happily discovered are all secured. His Highnesse hereuppon hath secured most of the horse of the citty and subburbes the last night, and mounted 500 foote, which with Generall Desborow and his regiment are marched towards Salesbury.

A party is preparing for North Wailes under Majour Generall Reynolds, where they begin likewise to heade. The citty is hastening the settlement of the Militia, whereby more forces may bee spared hence.

G. M.

- f. 60b. The last post informed you of the gathering together of about 500 horse in the forrest of Sherwood, and of theire scattering of themselves after they had bin together 4 or 5 howers; the reason

whereof wee suppose to bee, they not finding things to concur according to theire expectacion. In North Wailes there were alsoe about 800 gathered together, of whome I heare noe farther as yet. There were divers Cavaleeres gathred together in Shrewsebury with an intent to have surprized the Castle, in the manner of some Gentlemen clothed in woman's apparell [who] were to have surprized the sentrey and kept up the gate,¹ while others who should have bin drincking in aile howses close by should have entered in and surprized it, but they were discovered and taken; search alsoe being made at Sir Thomas Harrisse, and the rest of the riders, they alsoe found hidden a barrell of powder and 80 pare of pistolls.

Yesterday morning about 2 howers before day Majour Generall Wagstaffe entered Salsbury with about 200 horse, and the Assises being then there they tooke away theires and the lawyers horses, abaseinge the Judges, and marching away towards Blanford.²

G. D.

Westminster, March 15, 1654.—About 60 persons were f. 62. gathered together uppon Hessam Moore in Yorkshire under Sir Richard Maliverer of Allerton, but finding themselves to be noe more they dispersed, but afterwards there was apreghended and brought prisoners to Yorke Sir Richard Maliverer, Sir Henry Slingsby, Sir William Ingram, Colonel Brandling, Squire Hutton, Mr. Loftus, Andrew Hales of Yorke, with divers others, and more were daily secureing who were at the meeteing.

Thursday night the 8 instant was the time for the breakeing out throughout England. Those about New Castle gave order to their comrades to come to Duddoe, where they were to wash the bridegroomes head, and the wedding was to be kept at New Castle that night, but tis said they failing of Mrs. Bride were by order to goe Southward to joine with a partie of their owne that way, but were disapointed. Collonel Howard hath secured about 80 of

¹ MS. 'countrey and kept up the gent.'

² MS. 'Branford.'

the enemy in Northumberland, and sent 10 of the chiefe of them to Tinmouth Castle and 60 to Carlile. Generall Disbrow was the 15 instant about Amesbury, Major Butler was about 12 miles more to the West, soe that the next day they would joine. Major Generall Wagstaffe was the 14 instant with about 300 at Evill in Dorsetshire, tis thought they intend to escape as many as they can by water into Wales, but that is hardly possible for them to doe, at most not above 20 of them. There is noe stirring in Wales, nor any in armes that wee know of except these in Dorsetshire.

1. 63. *Westminster, March 17, 165 $\frac{1}{2}$.*—Since my last wee heare that a person of qualitie supposed the Earle of Newcastle, came to Hessam Moore in Yorkeshire to head the partie gather'd by Sir Richard Malivery of Allerton, but findeing there number not above 80 he dismist them to their homes; a small number did the like in Northumberland. The Lord Tufton sonne to the Earle of Thanett was taken in London with his buff coate, suite of armes, pistolls, great saddle, as he was takeing horse and goeing downe to raise the cuntry of Kent, he is since sent to the Tower, and his Highness hath bestowed his buff coate on Collonel Heane, Governor of Jersey, who hath a commission to raise a regiemēt of horse in Kent, and every troope in England to recruite up to a 100. Many informacions are come that Charles Steward, Major Generall Massey, Lord Ormond, and Inchiquine are come for England; strickt searches are and wilbe made for them. The cyty Militia drawes into a body and excersises Tewsday next. Commissioners are sent into every contry for setleing a Militia therein. The happy newes of takeing 50 and rowting the whole late Malignant partie in England by Captain Unton Crook's troope of Collonel Berries regiment is printed by spetial order. Orders are this night sent to the Commissioners for sequestration for several Counties to sequester all the estates of all the traitors in this late rebellion, which will amount to a considerable summe. There were 2000 of the cuntry people in Sumerseshire up in armes against the rebellion. The Sheriffe of Devonshire, who had a comission

dormant, did raise a regiment, and placed 400 in Exiter, and tooke the feild with the rest, by which you may perceave what assistance they may like to have in the contry.

Westminster, March 20, 1654.—Charles Stuart is nott yett farre f. 65. off, and certainly the happiness of this businesse will bee to finde out some of those multitudes that were engaged in all parts. Captain Crooke hath taken in all neere 100 prisoners, butt nott Wagstaffe as yett. This day was a very handsome appearance of the Londoners in armes. One of our frigotts riding before Brest to keepe in the pickeroones sunke one of them having 5 guns. Generall Penn and the fleete are happily arriv'd att the Berbadoes, and have taken in very many men there for this expedition. The Dutch build frigotts very fast. The French uppon these insurrections stopped all English vessells in France, and pressed seamen extreame fast. Their Ambassadour was to have taken leave of his Highnesse Tuesday last, butt some demurre is made.

G. D.

Westminster, March 24, 1654.—Munday last came lettres from f. 66. Colonel Howard, that many of the prisoners hee hath lately taken in the northerne Counties confesse that their designe was to have seized Tinmouth Castle, and the towne of New Castle. The Genoa Ambassadour (their masters and the King of Spaine being agreed) tooke leave the same day of his Hig[h]nesse. Tuesday last Theauroh John came into the Pallace yard Westminster (being at liberty uppon baile till the next terme) with 3 before him, one carying a mace, another a sword, and the third a bowe and arrowes, and leaving 3 arrowes crosse each other in the Pallace yard, gave a waterman 20s. to cary him crosse the Thames. The same day alsoe newes came that the French have seized all the English and Dutch ships in harbour, and have a greate presse of Marriners; what their designe is wee yet know not. The Lord Buccaris,¹ the greate statesman of Scotland, ('tis said) hath late passed through England

¹ Balcarres (?).

towards the Highlands, but the after game of the French and himsele cannot be well played, seing their foregame there is lost. Sithence my last we heare that about 200 of them that were in armes in the West are taken prisoners, the country picke them up in every corner, keepeing guards in all places. Lieutenant Colonel Rogers hath imprisoned Colonel Birch of Hereford for speakeing disaffectedly, and suspiciously. Sir Richard Maliverer is taken in Cheshire. Wednesday last was observed as a day of Thanksgiving by his Highnesse and Councell. The French Ambassadors seemes not to be all together uppon the spur to be gone, as he was the last weeke. Wee heare from France that Generall Pen's fleete is safely arrived at the Barbadoes, where they have taken in neere 4000 men. The dammage by a lamentable fier this weeke in Thridneedle streete amounts not to lesse then 30,000^{li}. The generall report here of the secureing Charles Stuart and the Duke of Buckingham at Yorke is but a report, though the latter may be suddenly.

G. M.

The Duke of Savoy hath evicted [?] an edict to banish all protestants out of his dominions. Noe newes as yett of a new Pope 'tis said they will sweare him to a neutralitie between the 2 crownes.

G. D.

- f. 68. *March 31, 1655.*—Care is taken how to improve this late plott. It seemeth as if the French and wee shall hardly agree. Hee demonstrates hee hath noe minde to an agreement if hee can otherwayes help himsele. Charles Stewart lies as yet in obscurity to us, but the Duke of Buckingham will bee more easily discovered. Collonell Howard hath lately secured his owne brother, and diverse others of the no[r]thern Gentry. His Highnesse hath given Majour Generall Morgan's¹ regiment to Lieutenant Collonell Mitchell (a very ingenuous and deserveing person). Wednesday

¹ Originally Overton's regiment. Morgan perhaps commanded it between Overton's arrest in December 1654 and March 1655.

morning last an imbargo was put upon all vessels in the river Thames and severall other ports, to continue till the fowerth day of Aprill, by which tyme wee expect to heere what the French intend by draweing downe their army towards our coasts. The Militia of the citty had then leave given them to revive their artillery company for the trayneing and exercising of well affected persons.

A commission of oyre and terminer is issued out to Baron Thorpe, Serjant Glin, and Recorder Steele to try eruptours at Sailesbury and elcewhere in the west. The Attorney Generall, Mr. Hill, and Graves are appointed Councill for the Commonwealth upon their tryall. The like comission is makeing out for the tryall of those in the north. Majour Brampston hath his liberty heere, and yesternight Mr. Oates was with his Highnesse, who gave him onely a sharpe reproofe for his follie, upon promise of his faithfull deportment for the future.¹ The Duke of Lenox died Thursday night last. Wee have receeived noe letters this 3 past dayes from France. Wee size all their shippes in port and elcewhere, as they doe oures. Caution is given to the merchants heere tradeing into France to secure their debts, and to provide against a storme.

G. M.

Westminster, March 31, 1655.—Wee have taken a French shippe loaden with iron and other commodities going for the west. Sir Richard Mauliverer is escaped out of Chester. On Munday the Attorney Generall and others intend for the west for the triall of those who were taken there. The French treaty is att a stand untill an account bee given of the late imbargoe of our shippes.

G. D.

Westminster, April 3, 1655.—The businesse for the settlement f. 69. for the Governement of Scotland is neere finished. The imbargoe in France was only att Roan, and Deepe, and one other port; orders were sent generallie to make seizure of our English goods, butt nott executed.

G. D.

¹ See *Scotland and the Protectorate*, ii. pp. 238, 241, 251, 252.

- t. 70. *Westminster, April 5, 1655.*—The new forces added to each regiment of the standing army are againe disbande[d]. Tueday last Generall Desbrow returned from the west. The French Ambasadour comes on againe vigorously for concludeing peace upon the treaty, pretending the imbargoe uppon our shippes in France to be onely for the impressing of seamen of theire owne for his Majesties service. The imbargo at London is alsoe taken off. His Highnesse was last night untill 11 a clock upon examination of Colonel Penraddock and Colonel Jones, who weere of Sir Joseph Wagstaffe's party. His Highnesse and Councill have appointed commissions of oyre and terminer and gaole delivery both for the west and for the north. Baron Thorpe, Serjeant Glyn, and Mr. Recorder Steele, Mr. Long, and Mr. Sadler are for the west, unto whome are added divers Gentlemen of those counties; Justice Nudigate, Justice Nicholas, Justice Windham, and Serjeant Hutton are for the north. Mr. Rogers the minister is removed from Lambeth Howse prisoner to Winsor Castle. Lieutenant Colonel John Lilburne indeavoured to send a pacquett lately for England, but the party that had it before the officer could come to search him threw it over board. Two greate persons weere taken by a constable at Ailesbury, and an inkeeper that undertooke theire safety untill the next morning put them in a roome from whence they escaped. It is thought they were Ormond and Wilmott.¹

It's talk't of heere, that a President and Councill are to bee appointed for Scotland, that the Lord Broghill is to bee President, Generall Monck, Scout[master] Generall Downeing, and Mr. Desbrow, the earl² of Twedaile, Colonel Lockhart, Sir James McDowall of Garthland, and Provost Jefferies are to bee the Members of the Councill.

- t. 73. *Westminster, April 12, 1655.*—His Highnesse and Councill have seeld the fines of Scotland, and are now goeing to lay an Excise upon the commodities of that nation. Colonel Jones and Colonel Penruddock (after theire examinacion at Whitehall) are sent

¹ Thurloe, iii. 281, 335.

² MS. 'three.'

downe into the west in order to theire tryall. Many other prisoners uppon the same designe are sent from severall counties, and after examinacion here are in the same manner disposed of.

The imbargo uppon our shippes and seizure to theire goods in France is not yet taken off (though the French Ambassadoures endeavoures to perswade the contrary), which heightens thinges heere against them, and the rather because the Dutch and they are neere uppon a closure and a right understanding of each other. Generall Pen's fleete wee heere is yet at the Barbadoes takeing in men, more cloathes are provideing for them. The inkeeper of Ailesbury stands committed for letting the Lord Wilmot escape, and Sir Thomas Bainton of Kent is committed to the Tower, who provided a lodging for him in London, but nothing further of Wilmott. Yesterday the greate shipp called the Naiseby was endeavoured to bee lancht, but could not for want of water; with this morneing tide shee was gott off. The businesse of France has taken upp much debate, but wee are in the darke as to its result, beeing variously reported (?). The French letters say that the order for the seizure of the English goods is taken off, merchants letters say alsoe that the imbargo is taken off. The ratificacion of the Sweedish treaty was yesterday delivered. Wee expect daily the issue of the commissions of oyre and terminer.

Westminster, April 17, 1655.—There were arraigned as parties f. 77. in the late rebellion at Salesbury ten persons, whereof 3 weere acquitted, 6 convicted, and one confessed the fact, and submitted to mercy. The 3 that weere acquitted are, William Willoughby of Knoell of that county Esqr., against whome appeared noe probable cause of prosecution.¹ The other two weere Mr. Henry Zouch and Edward Zouch his brother of the same county, though the evidence against the elder was some what plaine, against the other not very cleare.² The former of these two pray'd a coppie of the Inditement and Councill to bee assigned him, which was promised him in case hee should propounde any doubt in law,

¹ See Thurloe, iii. 364, 377.

² Thurloe, iii. 377, 378.

the other was denied it. The first that was convicted was John Lewcas a shopkeeper of about 2 or 300^{li} per annum. The next was John Deane of Oxen wood in the same county, an Inns of Court gentleman, very younge, and of good qualitie and estate. The Court did much comiserate this gentleman, and advised him to continue his ingenuitie and free confession, that they might have whereupon to intercede for him as a fit object of mercy, but [he] standing soe much upon his garde and defence was upon manifest evidence convicted. The 3d. was one Kensey a chirurgeon of London. The rest were one John Fryer, Penruddockes man, who was one of the first that weere taken in Sailesbury, Henry Lawrence, that were tennant to Penruddock, John Thorpe gentleman, against whome the evidence was very plaine, for that hee endeavored the breakeing of the prison, and to unfetter and horse the prisoners. The last was one Macke, an apothecary of Sailesbury, who confest the fact, and submitted to mercy, and produced to the Court his Highnesse protection. There weere five more (all persons of the rebellion) convicted for a robbery, two more of Sailesbury were convicted for horse stealing. These are all that were tryed there of that crew (saveing onely a horse stealer and a woman for witch craft, both convicted).¹ The Inditements were laide for leavying warr against the Lord Protectour and Governement &c. Contra forma[m] statut[i]. Mr. Sherriffe, my Lord Rolls' servant, Captain Croke, and 4 or 5 more, were the principall witnesses. Mr. Justice Windham gave the charge and managed cheefely the businesse. At Exeter it will fall out to Mr. Serjant Glynn's turne, and at Chard to Mr. Recorder Steele's. Joseph Wagstaffe, Mason, Carre, Sir Henry More, Pile, Sarlow, Bold, Chivas a vintner there, Andrewes, Seamoure, Greene, Mompesson, and Cotterell were founde guilty by the Grand Inquest, but are all at large. G. M.

f. 78b. *Westminster, April 17, 1655.*—Merchants' letters from France by the last post doe say, that there is a new stopp of shippes at

¹ Thurloe, iii. 365, 371, 372, 375, 378, 380.

Rochell and other ports in France, although the French Ambassadour hath declared to the Councill, that though his Master should fall out with England, yet hee would not make a prey of poore merchants' shippes to enrich himselfe withall. Generall Blake hath taken 4 shippes lately in the Straites. G. D.

Westminster, April 21, 1655.—The 12th instant the Lord Commissioner Lisle, Lord Cheife Justice Rolls, Serjant Glynn, and Serjant Steele Recorder, broke up their commission at Salisbury. Penruddock and Jones are removed from thence to Exeter in order to their tryall. A restraint (not amounting to an imbargo) is put on all Spanish vessells here for some time; the reason thereof is not yett made publique. There were 10 ordinary persons arraigned att Salisbury as parties in the late rebellion, three where of were acquitted, 6 convicted and one confest the fact, and submitted to mercy, which hee had accordingly. The Inditements were laid for leavying war against the Lord Protector and Government &c. Contra formam statuti. Justice Windham gave the charge and managed cheifly the busines there. At Exeter itt will fall to Serjant Glyn's turne, and at Chard to Mr. Recorder's. The French Ambassadour delayes the concluding of a treaty here till hee heare what his Master concludes with Spaine, and how far he can engage other Princes or States for him. Thursday night last the Duke of Lenox his corpes was brought by barge privately to bee interred at Hen. 7ths chappell in Westminster, and it was attended by 16 Earles besides many other persons of quality. . . . An Ambassadour extraordinary is comming hither from Spaine. A great fire happened the last night in Southwarke, where about 40 houses were burnt.

Westminster, April 24, 1655.—Att Exeter there have bin 3 Bills of High Treason referr'd to the Grand Jury, the first against these 10 vzte. Colonel John Penruddock, Mr. Hugh Grove, Mr. Richard Rives, Mr. Robert Duke, and Mr. George Duke his brother, Mr. Francis Jones, Mr. Francis Bennett, Mr. Thomas Fitz-James,

Mr. Edward Davy, and Thomas Poulton, all which are convicted of High Treason, excepting Bennett, who was acquitted. The 2d. against Edward Willis, Nicholas Mussell, Wm. Jenkins, Mr. Thomas Hillyard, Mr. William Stroud, Roberte Harris, John Bibbye, John Cooke, and John Haynes, the Sheriffe of Wilts' trumpeter that went along from Salisbury, all which saving Stroud were convicted, Jenkins by confession of the fact, and the rest by the verdict of the Jury that passed on them.¹ The 3d. Bill was against Mr. Henry Collier, Mr. Joseph Collyer his brother, Mr. William Wakes of Blandford, and Christopher Haviland, which 4 confessed the Indictment after the debate of their claime to Articles from Captain Croke, for their lives, liberties, and estates, which the Captaine affirmeth were noe articles, but verball condicions to this effect, that they should have faire quarter, which they have had, and that he would earnestly intercede with my Lord Protector for their lives, liberties, and estates which likewise he hath done; ² James Horsington, and John Giles who were in Salisbury goale for robbery, and let out uppon this insurrection, Hans Styver a Dutch trumpeter, Abraham Wilson, Richard Browne, and Nich. Broadegate, which 6 have pleaded not guilty, and were to be tryed Saturday last in the afternoone. Penruddocke and Robert Duke pleaded hard for their lives. Grove (one of 400^{li} per annum) is a dareing and resolute person; but the most desperate were the most ancient of them, Rives and Hillyard, who boldly avowed the fact with justificaccion, disowned the present government, affirmed positively they owed not obedience but to Charles Stuart, for they had sworne they said to be true to the Kinge, and they at present [had] noe legall established government in this nacion &c. There are in that goale of such as were parties in this insurreccion 105, but noe more of them wilbe impeached, leastwise at this time.³

Westminster, April 24.—The Marquesse of Leda ⁴ is expected in our frigott, which is sent for him with the first easterly winde

¹ Thurloe, iii. 394. ² Thurloe, iii. 368, 398. ³ Thurloe, iii. 306. ⁴ Lede.

from Dunkirke. The French Ambassadour makes a pidling still, assuredly they looke to make friends among themselves, which makes them carelesse of a peace with us. Penruddock, Jones, and 13 others are condemned at Exetour. I hope you will heare ere this come to your hands that the Judges in the commissions for the North could not agree upon theire businesse, pleading [?] the neerenesse of the terme, a necessity of a conference first with the rest of the Judges, where[fore] the tryall of those in those parts is put of. Care is now takeing about reduceing of charge of the army, for which end a comittee of officers is appointed. His Highnesse will speedilie dispatch with Councell the Governement of Scotland.

G. D.

Westminster, April 26, 1655.—These are condemned at Exeter and have sent uppe a petition¹ begging their lives, but hee hath written to the Judges giveing them power to shew mercy as they thinke most meete, and last referring them to them: John Penruddock, Henry Groves, Richard Rives, Robert Duke, Francis Jones, George Duke, Thomas Fitz James, Thomas Hilyard, Edward Davis, William Jenkins, William Wake, Henry Collier, Joseph Collier, Anthony Humilad, Thomas Poulton, Edward Willis, Joseph Bilby, Joseph Cooke, Abraham Wilson, William Hastington, Richard Browne, Mich. Mussle, Robert Harris and three trumpeters.

G. D.

Westminster, May 1.—Five are condemned at Chard. The commissioners of the Greate Seale doe make some scruple of putting in execution the ordnance for the Chancery, which yett many are of opinion that they will doe itt, otherwayes you may expect a new face of that Court.

G. D.

Westminster, May 8.—The Spanish Plate fleete is arrived safe in Spain, which is noe small joy to the Spaniards, and some disappointment to us. His Highnesse hath reffer'd itt to a committee

¹ To the Protector.

to consider of lessening the charge of the army, by reducing such number of officers and souldjourns, or lessening their pay as they shall thinke fitt, and to report to his Highnesse. A new Greate Seale is almost made, with the addition of Scotland to England and Ireland therein, with his Highnesse pourtraicture on the other side, which makes people heere give out generally that his Highnesse is to bee crowned forthwith, and that a Lord Keeper is to bee made, because the present Lord Commissioners refuse to act by the late ordinance for regulacion of the Chancery. The Marquesse of Leyde (Ambassadour extraordinary for Spaine) landed at Dover, beeing accompanied with two Marquesses besids 70 persons more of his attendants, and this night came in greate state.

Thursday last Barron Thorpe and Justice Newdigate had their pattents taken from them, for refusing to act by the late Commission for tryall of the Northern Risers. The same day the Prince of Transilvania's agent had audience of his Highnesse, wherein hee exprest the high esteeme his Master had of his Highnesse. The same day alsoe came a warrant from his Highnesse and Councill, requiring the Lords Commissioners of the Greate Seale to put in execucion the ordinance of his Highnesse and Councill for regulation of the Chancery as they would answer the contrary. The same day alsoe was appointed for the execucion of those condemned (and not since reprived) at Exetour, but how many died wee yet know not. The 6th of February last our fleete sailed from the Barbadoes, where they tooke betweene 4 and 5000 men, and 80 Dutch shippes that traded ther contrary to the late Parliament. The tryall of prisoners at Chard is over, and not above 6 condemned. . . .

The French Ambassadour came yesterday to take leave of his Highnesse, and yet that afternoone the French treaty revived. The Lord Protector hath accompanied her Highnesse to Hampton where shee keepe Court all this sumer.

- f. 88. *Westminster, May 13, 1655.*—There are 14 executed att Exeter, Penruddock and Jones were beheaded, and the rest hanged; but three executed at Salisbury, the rest reprived and pardoned.

Tuesday the Lord Ambassadour of Spaine had audience in greate state in the Banquetting howse, the substance amounted not to much more then a complement. Last Wednesday night the Master of the Rolles, Mr. Lenthall, was sent for to Whitehall, and being asked whether he would act uppon the ordinance for regulaccion of the Chancery, he answered in the negative, uppon which a writ of ease 'tis thought is to be sent to him. The Lords Commissioners being asked the same question, they answered that they had given their reasons why they could not, and their positive answeres being required, they desired to be excused, saying their answeres might easily be extracted out of their reasons.¹ The Comittee for lessening the pay of the army have ended the worke, and reduced the pay of the private souldiers out of guarrison to 9^d per diem, those in guarrison to 8^d per diem, and troopers to 2s. per diem, disbanded 5 companies of dragoones, and retrenched the pay of each officer soe much as will lessen the pay of the army 28,000^{li} per mensem. It is likewise ordered by them that a militia of horse shalbe settled in all the counties of England, each troop to have 8^{li} per annum, and the Captain 60^{li} per annum, who are to muster 4 times a yeare.

Westminster, May 19, 1655.—Generall Blake hath lately fired a castle ^{f. 91.} ² in Tunis which prejudic't his fleete as they passed by itt, hee hath alsoe fired the dock and harbour belonging to itt, where they made their galleys, and all their other vessells therein; the Turkey marchants here are afraid that their estates must repaire these losses. The retrenchment of the pay of officers and souldiers (mentioned in my last) will bring the armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland, to bee fully paid by the Assesment of 60,000^{li} per mensem and the 20,000^{li} per mensem assest upon Scotland and Ireland. Friday sennight his Highnes went to Hampton Court, where hee continued till Tewsday last. The Spanish Ambassadour hath had a second audience, which was still upon generalls for ammitie and good correspondence betweene the 2 nations. The French treaty goes

¹ See Whitelocke's *Memorials*, iv. 191–206, ed. 1853.

² Porto Farino.

on slowly, but its thought surely. Two Gentlemen were taken this weeke upon suspition intendedly to act a designe against his Highnes person, for that in one of their pocketts was found a letter to his freind in Holland, that the engine was now ready, and that it would doe execution upon the tyrants person at least 300 yards distance. The Lord Deputy of Ireland is gone into Connaught to settle that province. A petition is come lately from Ireland that the rest of the Irish may be banisht and confined according to the late Act of Parliament in that behalfe. Serjant Mainard, Serjant Twisden, and Waddam Windham, were yesterday taken from the bar in Westminster Hall, and sent prisoners to the Tower; the cause not knowne, but vulgarly given out for beeing of Councell for one Cony against the Commonwealth, who refused to pay custome for goods, and beeing committed by the Committee for Preservation of Customes, brought a Habeas Corpus, upon which his tryall should then have beene, but the certaine truth heerof your Honour may expect by the next.

- i. 42. *Westminster, May 24, 1655.*—The trew cause of Serjeant Maynard, Serjeant Twisden, and Waddham [Windham's] comittment to the Tower was for their pleading to the Court, that the ordinance of his Highnesse and Councill for receiveing the customes was noe better then a private order of a Councill table. The Upper Bench Court have graunted a Habeas Corpus for the Lord Grey committed to Windsor Castle, and the Sherriffe makeing a returne that the Governoure will not deliver them, its saide they have since graunted a Posse Comitatus, and what the High Sherriffe will doe thereupon the people are in greate expectation of. Monday morn-ing last these Scottch Lords, (vizt.) Lotherdaile, Sincleere, Kelley, and Crawford, with two Ashburnhams, and the Lord Granson¹ were sent from the Tower (where they weere prisoners), but to what other place or places of restraints their nerest relations must not yet know. 12 saile of shippes with men and other supplies will bee ready within 14 dayes to sett saile from hence towards Generall

¹ Grandison(?).

Penn. The Dutch are about paying 85,000^{li} to our merchants in liew of our losses susteined by them in the Easte Indias. The merchants have petitioned that a committee may bee appointed to pay it equally to each mans losses. Tuiuesday last wee had letters from Generall Penn dated March 28th as hee was under saile at the Barbadoes, haveing on bord 7000 souldjours besides 4000 seamen, all in good health. Yesterday the same Court of Upper Bench graunted another Habeas Corpus for Coney, an erreure being founde in the former, and Saturday next the debate will bee resumed. The Lord Biron and his sonne with others are lately committed to the Tower. Collonel Grove and Penruddock lost theire heads but this weeke uppon one scaffold at Exetour. Generall Blakes fireing 11 shippes in Porto Domingo, and battering the Castle with the losse of 30 men, is confirmed. The Turkes incline to deliver upp our English slaves, and to enter into amity with us. The Excise to be laide [on] Ireland and Scotland is almost perfected. The settling a militia in every countie hath taken upp much time all this weeke, and is neere finishing. G. M.

Westminster, June 2, 1655.—The Court of Upper Bench f. 93. granted an al[ia]s Habeas Corpus to Mr. Coney (error being found in the former), which was fil'd on Saturday last, and judgment should have bin Monday last given thereuppon, but deferred till the first day of the next terme. The 3 lawyers comitted to the Tower have petitioned for liberty, acknowledging and being sorrowfull for theire erreure, but yet his Highnesse hath done nothing therein. Monday last the Lord Commissioners of the Great Seale came of the Court into the Exchequer, and the Lord Whitelock made a learned speech to Recorder Steele (who was then to bee sworne Lord Cheefe Barron of the Court), shewing the aucthority, reason, and justice of the lawes of England, the trust reposed in him by calling him to that place, and his abillity and knowledge in the law to execute it, and after a short selfe denyeing answer hee was sworne. Instruccions and Commissions were dispatcht for the

Militia forces, who are to take an engagement to bee true and faithfull to his Highnesse. They are to bee ready at 48 howers warning, and if above a month out together, then to have the stablished pay of the army. The Captain hath 100^{li} per annum, Lientenant 50^{li}, Cornet 25^{li}, Quartermaster 13^{li} 6^s 8^d, each of the three Corporalls 2^{li}, Trumpeters 5^{li} 6^s 4^d, each souldjour 8^{li}.

Colonel Humphreyes commands 1000 men, which with 12 saile are goeing as a supply to the West Indias. The Lord Henry goes not this month for Ireland. The Councill of Scotland intends to set forward the latter end of the next weeke. Little Mr. Graves ('tis saide) will bee made Recorder in the Citty in the place of Mr. Steele. His Highnesse sending for the Lord Mayre Thursday last, and the Judges the next day about businesse of greate concernement, caused many to come downe to Westminster in greate expectation that his Highnesse would alter his title, but hee being gone to Hampton Court, they thinke it may probably bee on Thursday next.

G. M.

- f. 96. *London, June 9.*—The ratification of the peace with Sweden being seald his Highnesse hath appointed Mr. Rolt, a gentleman that attends his Highnesse person, to carry the said ratificacion to Sweden. Colonel Fines hath received his pattent for being Lord Privy Seale, but is not yet sworne. The Lord Lambert is made Lord Warden of the Cinque Portes, but Colonel Sydenham is not yet made Lord Treasurer as reported. His Highnesse hath knighted Mr. Copliston the High Sheriffe of Devonshire, and gave him the sword he knighted him with for his activenesse against the late eruptours at Salisbury, and hath given 200^{li} per annum to Captain Croke whoe suppressed and tooke that party. His Highnes hath given Lieutenant Colonel Talbot comission to command the regiment late Colonel Alureds.¹ Thursday last the Lord Cheife Justice Rolles gave in his pattent to his Highnesse. Friday sevensnight one of the Masters of Requests was by his Highnesse

¹ See Carlyle's *Cromwell*, letters xcxciii. and xcxciv.

and Councill (at the request of the citty) nominated Recorder. The Prince of Transilvanias agent hath received his dispatch, and is preparing homewards. His Highnesse [h]is assuming the legislative power in some cases of necessity, and in the intervalls of Parliament, [and] the altering of his title is much spoken of. The former is generally said to bee agreed upon. Yesterday morning the Lords Commissioners of the Greate Seale delivered up the Greate Seale to his Highnesse, according to his Highnesse command. The Advocate Generall, or Lord Whitlock (it's said), wilbe Lord Keeper, and Serjant Glyn Lord Cheife Justice of the Upper Bench, and that the Lord Richard Cromwell wilbe made Lord High Admirall is generally reported, and the Lord Henry Cromwell Deputy of Ireland. The Spanishe Ambassadour hath this day sent [for leave to] bee gone. On Munday the foot are to bee drawne out which are to goe for the West Indyes, and the shippes are in readinesse to receive them on board. There are lettres come that the third provision ship is arrived at Barbadoes, and that the 4th was in the sight of the Island.

The army under General Venables is already 10,000 besides seamen. The last night the Lord Willoughby, Jeffrey Palmer, Lord Lovelace, Orlando Bridgeman, and Colonel Ayres and divers others were apprehended and sent to the Tower. The Lord Bradshaw hath bene twice sent for to the Councill for not paying his sesse; Prayse God Barebones and some others alsoe refuse it. Mr. Tombes whoe was heire to Sir Paul Pindar's estate hath lately hang'd himselfe.

Westminster, June 16, 1655.—The souldjory in Ireland have f. 98. the last weeke taken possession of their lands in that nation according to each of their lotts. The forces drawne out of each regiment to compleate a regiment for the West Indies were put on board Monday last, soe that the fleete wilbee speedily under saile. The Spanish Ambassadour (that lately came hether) hath taken an amicable leave of his Highnesse, being remanded back by his Master. Yesterday the Lord Henry Cromwell being accompanied

out of towne with many persons of quallity [set out for Ireland]. Serjant Glyn is made Lord Cheefe Justice insteade of the Lord Rolls. The old Greate Seale is broken, and Colonel Fines and Lord Lisle sitt as Lords Commissioners of the new Greate Seale, which hath this circumscripcion: Oliverus Dei gratia, Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae, &c. Protector, with the armes of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, and his owne in the midst of them, and on the other side his owne effigies mounted on horse back. This day many persons of quallity were brought in prisoners out of severall counties. Mr. Lenthall is nominated Master of the Rolls. Mr. Carey of Haberd[ash]ers Hall and one Mr. Knight are nominated two of the Judges for Ireland.

- f. 99. *Westminster, June 23, 1655.*—The Commissioners of the Militia in the severall counties have secured the persons of most of the Malignant nobility and gentry of this nacion till their Militia be settled. After evening sermon the last Lord's day a colleccion was made from howse to howse, the contriбуtions were large, privat gentlemen, nay some tradesmen, subscribed 10^{li}, others 20^{li} a peece. Sir William Constable who died in the Strand was solemnly interr'd Thursday last in Westminster Abbey after the military manner, most of the officers of the army in and nere London attending his corpes to the place of interment . . . Yesterday letters were brought to his Highnesse, importing that our fleete had landed in Hispaniola all the forces under comand of Generall Venables, without the least opposition of the Spanyard or other inhabitants, and that when our forces entered theire cheefe citty, Sancto Domingo, they found not any people therin, being fled (as it is conceived) to the woods upon our first landing. We expect a more particular accompt hereof daily from Generall Penn. The Lords of the protestant Cantons of Switzerland have sent deputies to demand of the Duke of Savoy a debt of ij millions of crownes, and in case hee give not a satisfactory answer to declare that they intend to pay themselves as they can finde opportunity.

- f. 103b. *Westminster, July 14, 1655.*—From Tunis the merchants have

letter, that our shippes are trading there with very great freedome. His Highnesse and Councill have appointed Judges for the severall Courts of Justice in Ireland, vizt. Miles Corbet Esqr., Lord Chiefe Baron, Mr. Cary Barron of the Exchequer, Mr. Pepis Lord Chiefe Justice of the Common Pleas, Mr. Cooke Justice of the Upper Bench, Mr. Lowther Lord Chiefe Justice, and Mr. Doniland Justice of the Common Pleas, and the affaires of the Greate Seale to be managed by the Lord Chiefe Baron Corbet, Lord Pepis, and Lord Lowther: such of these as are of the Councill of Ireland will continue to act in both capacities. An Ambassadour extraordinary from Venice is commeing hither. The G[r]and Signiour's causing the throates of the English Ambassadour and all the English merchants to be cut, and their estates to be confiscated, amounting to 18 millions of crownes (in revenge of Generall Blake's burning the 9 men of warre of Tunis), is againe confirmed by letters from the Duke of Savoy's Court. Yesterday his Highnes sent for all the Judges to Whitehall, wheare hee gave them a very learned chardge before they entred upon theire severall Councils. His Highnesse hath given orders that the Commissioners for givinge reliefe upon articles should cease to sitt or act farther upon the powers given to them, by which meanes the Lord Bradshaw is out of his last publique imployment. The Cavaleires postinge out of the towne Thursday last makes the cittsens complaine already for want of tradinge, and will speedily indanger many purses upon the roads: most of them that staid contrarie to the proclamation are since secured, and wish they had departed. The Lord Henry is gott safe to Ireland. Wee have heard nothinge from Generall Blake or Penn. His Highnesse is gone to Hampton Courtt.

Westminster, July 19, 1655.—A young gent was Thursday last brought before His Highness and Councell suspected to bee the Duke of Glocester, but hee proving to bee another was the next day discharged. His Highness hath sent letters to all the Sheriffs in England and Wales to returne the names of the parishes in their Shirrifedomes, soe that hee may know which of them have

neglected to send up their contributions for the poore protestants in Savoy. His Highnesse hath sent his order to reduce every foote regiment of 1000 to 800, and those of horse proportionably, by the 23th instant, and to pay their supernumeraries till then, and the Treasury shall repay them here.

- f. 107b. *Westminster, July 24, 1655.*—The newes from Generall Pen's fleete is, that our army is landed without any losse in Hispaniola in a healthy and good condicion, onely that Majour Generall Haynes by a rash and unadvised attempt with seaven men against the enemy hath lost his life. The Councill of Scotland theire instruccions are ingrosed and signed by his Highnesse, soe that they wilbee in readinesse within 14 dayes tyme to set forward thither. Hannam that hath bin an highway man these twenty yeares last past, and hath gott a considerable estate by that trade, was this Sessions condemned, but uppon reasons advantageous to the publicque is since reprived. The Swedish Ambassadour extraordinary with above 100 attendants hath landed at Gravesend these 7 dayes last past, his coach horses and other necessities being not yet come a shoare. The Scoutmaster Generall, Mr. Downeing, is nominated publicqly agent for the Switzers, and wilbee dispatcht away very speedily.
- G. M.

- f. 109. *Westminster, August 4, 1655.*—Uppon the Swedish Ambassadors first coming off from Tower Hill, the French Ambassadour ambitiously interposed with his coach the next to that of his Highnesse, pretending hee tooke the Swedish Ambassadors coach to bee the Spanish Ambassadors, who (to prevent a quarrell betweene the French Ambassadour and him in point of precedence) absented himselfe that day, but that mistake being rectified, the lacques and attendants on boath sides put upp their swords, and the Sweedish Ambassadour's coach tooke his right place. His Highnesse hath impowered severall Commissioners in Jersey to sequester the estates of all the inhabitants thereof, unlesse they pay a fine imposed uppon them for their delinquencies by a day certaine. Tuiesday last the Sweedish Ambassadour had audience at Whitehall

in much state. Hee was onely uppon generalls at present, for amitie, union, and good correspondency between the two nations. His 2d audience was Wedensday last, and then hee was more perticular, but the substance thereof is thought fitt to bee kept privat. The instruccions for the Councill of Scotland being perfected, many of the members are gone downe, and the rest goeing daily. The Lord Deputy Fleetwood is uppon a speedy voyage for England, lodgings in White hall beeing prepareing for him. The report of Generall Blake his takeing 12 Sally men of warr is confirmed. The officers of the new Militia troopes in the severall counties were yesterday feasted by his Highnesse at White hall. The Cavalleare partie now under restraint hath taken upp much debate, and for their allowing 10^{li} per annum out of every 100^{li} per annum for maintenance of the new Militia troopes (who are raised onely for the safety of the nacion against that partie) is not yet fullie determined. Letters came this day from Generall Venables, that hee had taken the Island of Jamica in the West Indieas, where they had not onely the benefitt of fresh provisions, but¹ wilbee inabled thereby to releive dizines and indisposition of the land forces occasioned by a sea voyage, which sayes (this letter) was the sole cause why our 2 parties under Heanes and Jackson could not stand the charge of the enemy at their first landing,² wherein hee assured his Highnesse that the losse of neere 250 was the whole number of that miscarriage, and that after a few weekes refreshment in this Island hee doubts not but to give his Highnesse a good account of St. Dominigo and the greatest part of Hispaniola.

August 11, 1655.—Friday last His Highnesse made Sir Gilbert f. 111b. Pickering Lord Chamberlane, and appointed Sir Thomas Billingsley, Mr. Rolt, Mr. Barrington, and Mr. Harvey, to bee Gentlemen of his Bedchamber. Mr. Winslow, one of the Commissioners that went with Generall Venables, is dead of the country disease, and likewise Clarke, who was Lieutenant Collonell to Majour Generall Hayne. Our forces wanted water some dayes before they landed in

¹ The MS. here inserts 'being' part of Hispaniola.'

² This is nonsense, as they had been many days on shore.

Hispaniolay, but are now well supplied with all accomodation, Generall Penn haveing left with them fower monthes provisions, and the like quantity for the 12 best shippes that staies and attends the movements¹ and designes of our land forces, for the rest of the fleete, noe further occasion being there for them, wilbee imployed uppon the service. Our losse in Hispaniola by the ambuscade of the enemy expresses not the number of 250 men (as all letters confirme). A petition is carryeing on in severall places here for his Highnesse to assume the title of Emperoure or King, the subscription[s] wilbee many, but there is not any of them yet presented to his Highnesse who went to Hampton Court Thursday night last; . . . Information being given that many of the Royall party, and some of them persons of quallity and others of very desperate condition, did lurke privately in London and Westminster contrary to the late proclamation of his Highnesse and Councill, order was given that strict search should bee made for them by constables of the severall parishes, which accordingly was executed on Thursday night last, and many persons apprehended thereupon, and since comitted. The Lord President and most of the Councill of Scotland begin their journey for Scotland the next weeke. That the Lord Deputy Fleetwood is made Generallissimo of all the forces in the 3 nations signifies at present noe more then a common report. G. M.

August 18, 1655.—Dundee in Scotland is ordered to bee disgarrison'd, whereby an equall reducement is made of all the Governours pay in Scotland. Sincleere is ordered to bee made a guarrison. A printed [petition] in the name of the freeholders of England, desiring his Highnesse to assume the title of King, or Emperor, and (till the next Parliament bee called) the legislative power of the nation, was offered by some persons, Monday last, to merchants and others then uppon the Exchange to be signed by them, but they not understanding the danger thereof refused. His Highnesse and Councill have since thought fit to give order for

¹ MS. 'monies.'

calling in and suppressing the said petition.¹ A Greate Seale is lately sent into Ireland, where as well as in Scotland the greate businesse hath bin soe to reduce the forces in both nacions as to bring them within the pay of both nations of the new establishment. The Sweeds greate victory over the Powlanders is confirmed, which made the Sweedish Ambassadour to set yesterday apart for a day of thankes giveing, and the greatest preparations for fire workes was made that ever were seene in England. They were performed both by land and water, but because much danger was apprehended by the inhabitants in firing theire howses the best part of the more curious workes were forborne. A greate dinner was made, at which the French and Dutch Ambassadors, the Lord Whitelock, and severall other persons of honour was present. The Lord Protectour was not invited (as the common report goes), 3 hogsheads of clarret wyne run out at severall spouts which was free for the vulger to receive. The disbanding of 20 of each company of foote in the 3 nations is over; if they had bin formed into regiments most of them would have bin ingaged for the West Indias, but blessed bee God noe need is there of them. Generall Blacke is yet in the Straites, and waites there to good purpose, if the Spaniards Silver fleete have not received a prohibition to saile out of poart till further order. The sending 20,000 English to joyne with the Sweeds army hath bin debated, but not yet concluded. The Lord Deputy Fleetwood intends to bee heere by the 10th of the next month; some say hee will bee made Lord Treasurer imedeately upon his comeing over, others that hee will have a Marshall command. His Highnesse went to Hampton Court Thursday night last, it is a place where hee takes much delight.

G. M.

Westminster, August 25, 1655.—The Lord Henry Cromwell was the last weeke enterteyned by the University of Dublin, being their Chancellor, with very greate solemnity. Hee was met at the

¹ This petition, which was drawn up by a certain John Norbury, is given at length in the *Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1655*, p. 277.

outward gate by the Vice-Chancellor, Provost of Trinity Colledge, and Docter Dudley Loftus, publicque professor of the Civill Lawes, with many Doctors, were all robed in scarlet, who with the rest of the Graduats attended his Lordship into the Convocation House, where hee had their congratulatory salutation from the mouth of Dr. Rowles, which ended the Procter made another speech in order to phylosiphy, after which Dr. Loftus as Docter of the Chaire presented Colonel Sankey to the Chancellor to bee admitted *ad eundem gradum*. Hee likewise presented (after another eloquent oration) Sir Hardris Waller, Sir John Reynolds, Sir George Ascue, Sir Timothy Tirrill, and the Lord President of Connaught, and after severall other orations Mr. Georges, the Lord Henry Cromwell's Secretarye, by command from his Lordship closed with a very eloquent speech to the University in congratulating the learned performance of the day. Afterwards the Doctors and many persons of quallity attended his Lordship and Councill unto the Provost's Lodgings, where they were entertained with a plenti-full banquet. His Lordship by countenancing the interest of the magistracy and ministry, comeing to their publiq ordinances both at lectures and on the Lord's day, doth gaine much uppon theire affections. The Lord Lambert, Generall Desbrow, Collonel Goff, Comissary Generall Whalley, Lord Deputy Fleetwood, Majour Generall Skippon, Lieutenant Colonel Worseley, and Lieutenant Collonel Kelsey are appointed Commanders in Cheefe of the new Militia forces in the severall counties, which are devided amongst the said officers who are all coming upp to receive fartherorders. Thursday last his Highnesse and Councill set apart for a day of Humiliation to seeke God for seasonable weather, which is much wanted in the 3 nations. . . . His Highnesse and Councill sat yesterday night till almost 8 of the clock; their results are kept private.

f. 118. *Westminster, September 1, 1655.*—The businesse of Mr. Cordwall (the Minister that preaches downe the ministry of the nation) because it is very much taken notice of, his Highnesse hath taken the examinacion thereof uppon himselfe, and in the interim

the Tryers forbear any further persecucion against him. The Lord Howard haveing waved his command of a regiment of horse [is] to continue his command of the life-guard. His regiment of horse was this weeke given to Collonell Ingoldsby.¹ . . . Mr. Sturcion, one of his Highnesse life guard and pastour of a Church, is in custody for being the auther and publisher of the printed Queries lately published in dishonour of his Highnesse and present Governement.² The Lord Deputy of Ireland is expected Saturday next at Chester, and within few dayes at Woodstock, where hee staves some short time before hee come to London. His Highnesse and Councill is drawing upp a declaration shewing their dislike of the late printed petition in the name of the freeholders for constituting his Highnesse King or Emperer. His Highnesse hath bin in a course of phisick the greatest part of this weeke, and hath bin troubled with severall fitts of the stone, whereby noe personall application hath bin made to him. Yesternight his Highnesse tooke good repose, but his [in]disposition prevented his journey this day to Hampton Court. The last night the Countesse of Holland died, when Sir William Roberts was wounded and his sone slaine by theeves neere Tyburne. This day came in 20 odd saile of our fleete from Jamaica, 13 being left there, and one fired accidentally coming home. Generall Penn³ died the day before they set saile.

G. M.

London, September 8, 1655.—Though his Highnesse hath received f. 120. much ease and rest since Munday last, yet the Councill will not yet trouble him with the least of business. The coaches, horses, and other goods belonging to the Lord Deputy of Ireland landed at Chester Monday, his person and retinue are there daily expected,

¹ Howard had been given the regiment lately Colonel Rich's, which now passed to Ingoldsby.

² See Thurloe, iii. 738, and the life of Sturgeon in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

³ Evidently a mistake for General Venables, whose death was confidently reported.

and Wallingford Howse over against Scotland yard in Whitehall is already prepared to receive his Lordshipe. Generall Pen came upp yesterday from the West Indias fleete, and gave his Highnesse a full account of that expedition, and of the advantage Jamica (if continued in our possession) wilbee to England; wee saved 200 men out of the shipp Paragon that was burnt, and about 80 more destroyed by water and fire. The excessive raines wee have lately had have brought the price of corne above double of what it was three weekes agoe.

G. M.

f. 120. *Sept.* 13, 1655.—Generall Blake is now in London, Generall Monck and Sir George Ayscue are said to bee Generalls by sea and land for the West Indies. The Lady Claypoole (though reported to bee dead) is in a hopeful way of recovery . . .

f. 127b. *September* 15, 1655.—The Anabaptist partie in Ireland are much offended with the Lord Henry Cromwell coming every Lords day to parochiall (?) and publike congregation, and with his chaplaines for preaching against dipping.

London, September 22.—This weeke came the sad news of the Spaniards seizeing uppon all our shippes in their ports, our merchants' persons, and all their goods. His Highnesse is well recovered, and hath removed his family from Hampton Court till next Summer. Wednesday night the Spanish merchants came to his Highnes, and gave him an accompt of this seizure, humbly desiring that hee would please to use some meanes for their reliefe. His Highnesse tould him hee would reinforce Jamica with an additionall army, and that hee was confident thereby to repaire their losses twenty fould; this answer hath given greate

f. 129. satisfaction [to] the merchants who had six monthes notice of this designe, whereby they might have withdrawne or secured their estates. The additionall army it is said will consist of 10,000 men. Thersday morning Generall Vennables came from Portsmouth by land, Generall Pen and himselfe with Collonel Buller were all that afternoone under examination at the Councill, and it

being found that Collonell Buller came over by order from the Commissioners of the place, and that the other two came over without order, the two Generals, Venables and Pen, were that night sent prisoners to the Tower, where they now remayne. His Highnesse hath bestowed Collonell Ingoldsby[s] late regiment of foote uppon Lieutenant Collonell Mills. All the considerable shippes at Portsmouth that wee can speedily hasten to Generall Blake are fitting out; the Spanish fleete is yet playing to and froo of the southward Cape, waiteing for their Silver fleete. A proclamation is past to disable all delinquents in the late eruption as well as those in any of the former rebellions to beare office in the Commonwealth, or give voyce to elect or bee elected Members of Parliament. Severall orders are past the Councill to regulate the presse, and to surpresse all weekley printed bookes unlesse such as are allowed by his Highnesse and Councill, which will bee few or none at all. This day the Lord Deputy of Ireland with his big belly Lady came to towne, attended with his Highnesse Councill and many officers of the army.

G. MABBOTT.

Sept. 29.—His Highnesse this weeke answered the petitioners f. 131b. on behalf of Biddle (when they pleaded the Instrument of Government did maintaine Liberty of Conscience), that the Instrument was never intended to maintaine and protect blasphemers from the punishment of the lawes in force against them, neither would hee. His Highnesse likewise left Mr. Cordwell, the minister, to bee concluded by the Tryers of London. . . . Yesterday they¹ ordered that Mr. Feake & Mr. Rogers should bee removed from Winsor Castle to the Isle of Wight, because of their clamorous inveyyings against his Highnesse and government. His Highnesse lately tould the wife of Lieut. Collonell Lilburne, that by the first shipp that came over from Jersey her husband should bee brought over into England. The Spanish Ambassador (seeing the designe of Jamaica so vigorously reinforc't) presses hard for an audience, but it will not bee granted. . . .

¹ *I.e.* the Council of State.

Narrative of the Expedition to San Domingo ¹

- f. 122. After our departure from Portesmouth on the 26th of December 1654, wee arrived att Barbadoes the 30th of January following, and on the 2d ² of March the whole fleete set saile from the Barbadoes, and after the receiveing of such forces as were raised on the Leward Island, wee sailed for Hispaniola. About the 10th of April our fleete came before S.^to Domingo at two a clock. After some small stay some gunns were fired as signalls, whereupon the fleete parted, the greatest part makeing sayle alongst the shoare till the evening, and then came to an anchor, (Collonell Bullere with his owne and parte of another regiment staying before the towne). The next morneing ³ very earely wee began to land our men without any appearance of opposition, but it was neere evening before the army was in a marcheing posture, yet wee marched some two miles to a Savanna (an open place of grownd soe called by the Spaniards), where our army encamped that night, bringing with us ashoare three dayes provision, and a sufficient proportion of ammunicion. The next morneing after some tyme spent in prayer, and in putting the army in good order wee began, our march, our men as to all outward appeareance being in good heart and cheerefull. About noone tyme the vann met with some 16 of the enemy, which was supposed to bee all cow killers; they had a small incounter two of our men being kild, and some other slightly wounded, and one of the enemy killd, whereuppon they tooke the woods, and were not seene by us afterwards. Wee marcht hard all day till darke night, dureing which march wee were in very much want of water, in soe much that severall men dyed. The next day earely the army began to march (our regiment ⁴ leadeing the vann); I was commanded to lead the forlorne of a 100 men. About 3 a clock there came to mee a sea man who swom on shoare, and gave mee notice that Colonel Bullard was landed that morneing at Hine Bay (a place soe called by the

¹ Undated. It appears in the MS. between letters of 11 and 15 Sept. 1655, when it came to hand, but it was evidently written about June.

² Really March 30.

³ Saturday, April 14.

⁴ C. A. Fortescue's.

Spaniards), some 5 miles from S.^{to} Domingo, and marcht upp to meete us in the way. I presently returned and gave the Generall an account of it, whereuppon the Generall gave command to march, and coming to a Savana and being nere night the Generall resolved to lodge the army there, and commanded mee to the campe with the forlorne; onely Jackson with 3 files of my forlorne, and my Lieutenant were ordered to seeke out a passage over the River Hine,¹ which they accordingly found, and met with a neger who indeavoured to run away [but] was by the party kill'd, newse being brought thereof to the Generall imediately a party of 150 of each regiment was set to secure the passe. The next morneing early the army marched to the river, and there waded over, it being betwixt 3 and 4 foote deepe, afterwards marching about two miles the army randezvouz'd some two howers to get our men upp together, the badnesse of the passage haveing put the army in disorder. Afterwards marching about a mile further where wee had plenty of water at a plantation, our regiment being in the reare was there ordered to stay. Our Collonel,² and Majour Generall Haynes stayed with us; the rest of the army marched forwards and afterwards joyned with Collonell Buller, and drawing neere to the towne hapned to fall into an ambuschado of the enemies, which by reason of the suddanesse of the accident put our men into some disorder, and thereby haveing advantage of our men had for a small tyme the better of it; but the sea regiment marching upp the enemy presently returned and fled, and after some fireing of theire cannon in a small worke our men still marching forward, the enemy threw the gunns into a well adjoyneing to the said fort, and with rubbish spoileing the water quitted the fort, which our men tooke possession of. There was then an expresse command given (as I was credibly informed) not to march forward without orders from the Generall. About the cloase of the evening³ wee came upp with the army, where wee had not bin about halfe an ower but wee had orders to draw off, and march back to the

¹ Jaina.² Apparently Fortescue.³ Tuesday, April 17.

plantation we last came from, which was about fower miles. The onely cause I could understand was want of water, which our shippes (if there had bin no other way) could with speed have conveyed to us, if wee had marched forward beyond one other stone fort the enemy had cloase adjoyneing to the sea which was in force and bignesse much like to one of the lesser castles in the Downes onely the middle was squaire built. I could not perceive that there was above 10 or 12 gunns at most in it, when I had uppon our second attempt a faire view of it. But the army as aforesaid being ordered to draw of wee found a generall unwillingnesse in our souldjours to the same; and in our owne regiment (who then least wanted water) many of our old fellow souldjours, with whome wee had for many yeare past bin together with, came to severall of us, and desired us to speake to our cheefe officers that they might stay, and those that wanted water might goe back and refresh themselves, saying they had rather suffer there than leave their wounded fellow souldjers to the mercy of the enemy, which wee being sensible of that there was noe conveniency to carry them soe farr in the night, severall of us went to our then Lieutenant Collonel Hill,¹ and desired him that hee would then acquainte our Collonel or the Generall with the same, which hee did. Wee had this answer returned that wee were not to dispute commands, but to obey orders (whereto wee submitted). In this incounter wee lost our principall guide with about 50 more kil'd, and many wounded by gulls.² I suppose there was twenty of the enemy kil'd. The next day in the afternoone the army marched to Hine Bay (a place soe called some five miles from S.^to Domingo), where the army lay five dayes, dureing which tyme wee got amother peece, to drakes,³ some musketts in frames, and victualled the army. To the best of my remembrance it was dureing the time of the armies being at Hines-Bay that the enemy came downe

¹ Major Will Hill of Fortescue's regiment, who probably became its Lieutenant-Colonel when Holdip was promoted to command the St. Kitt's regiment.

² So in MS. (? 'by gunns.')

³ *I.e.* 'A mortar piece two drakes.'

with about 100 men, and fell in uppon our maine guard, and had they not bin accidentally discovered by a stragling souldjour had undoubtedly defeated the whole guard, but they being strenghtned by commanded parties gadding abroad for forrage incountered the enemy, killed their commander, put the partie to flight, killed some eight or thereabouts, tooke noe prisoners.¹ After five dayes as aforesaid the army began their march about noone, and by reason of a very narrow passage the men marched not above two miles, and soe lay in a marching posture all night. The next morneing² we marched (the same forlorne goeing before both dayes consisting of 500 men, which forlorne Adjutant Generall Jackson had the leading of), and soe marched forward till they came to the foresaid stone fort, and (as our relation was) were marched past the fort, when as an Ambuscado issued forth of the woode, and after the receiveing of our forlorne's valley of shott fell in uppon them with theire lances, and imediatly put them to the roote, and [they] runing back uppon our owne men, put two reformed companies and that parte of the horse that were in the van to the roote, who in disorder broake in uppon the Generall's regiment, in soemuch that they became thereby a prey to the enemy, untill they were put to a checque (as I am informed) by the Generall with a small party of Majour Generall Haynes and Collonel Goodson's regiment. The losse uppon this defeate received was eight feild colloures, (five of the Generall's, one of the Majour Generalls, and two reformed colloures). Majour Generall Haynes, Majour [Ferguson], and three Capitaines more of his regiment with severall other officers and above 400 souldjers were slayne, many more wounded; in which miscarriage [Jackson] had his sword broake over his heade, and was casheard the army. After this losse received there was 100 men out of each regiment commanded forth to march forward and to take possession of the ground wee had then left, in which party I was commanded with 100 men. Majour Bland³ com-

¹ See *Penn's Life*, ii. 86.

² Wednesday, May 25.

³ Of Col. Buller's regiment. This seems to show that the author of this narrative was merely a captain.

manded the whole partie. Wee marched upp within musket shot of the fort, and were there commanded to stay, and waited in expectation of orders to march forward to the towne of S^to. Domingo till the next morneing at 7 of the clock, dureing which time the enemy did us greate harme with their greate shott. Wee were then releevd by a party of 150 out of a regiment commanded by Lieutenant Collonell Hill which wee had thought should have marched on, but being drawne of to our severall regiments wee found the army marching of, and they left as a reare guard. The army marched that day to Hine Bay, the enemy in noe wise approaching in the reare, but before halfe the army could bee gotten on to the Bay there was many men left the roade about a mile from the said place to fetch water, who uppon sum suddaine apprehension of feare amongst themselves, supposed they say summ negars, which caused a generall flight amongst them, and throwing away of their armes, they being at least a 100 men then present at the water, and noe enemy really appeareing. About two or three dayes after this, uppon a rumer that a partie of men (who had bin sent from the camp to get victualls) were begirt in a Church by the enemy (which was a falce report), another party of 7 files were sent by an outeguard to rescue them commanded by a Lieutenant, who marching towards the said Church were fac'd by the enemy with horse and foote, whereuppon the whole party fled notwithstanding the indeavours of the officers to stay them, it being afterwards proved against one of the partie that hee was twice knockt downe by a Serjant for running away, for which fact hee was hang'd. After this there was nothing of any action considerable. About 3 or 4 dayes after the army was imbarcked againe for the Island of Jamica. The whole time the army was on Hispaniola was 19 or 20 dayes. On the 10th of May the whole fleete came to an anchor in the harbour of Jamica, and boated upp our men, and sailed upp to their place of landing, where the enemy had some few b[r]est workes and gunns; [we] were anchored with our boates and the Martin galley and severall

other small vessells till all the boats of the fleete were come upp to us, and then let slipp, and drove ashoare, and landed our army without any further opposition, which put summ small appearance of carriage into the spiritts of our discourrag'd army. The next day wee marched upp to the cheefe citty. In the way thether was a small fort with three gunns and a murderer, which the enemy after once fireing quitt'd and fled, and alsoe quitted the citty, but sem'd very desirous to treat with us, which was by us well liked for as much as wee had little incurragement to have any further dependance on the vallour of our souldjourns, the sence of theire former cowardice (?)¹ being fresh in our mindes. The treaty proceeded soe farr as a conclusion and rattification of articles. The enemy had time limitted for their comeing in, and the Marshall De Camp, who was the second man in power in the Island, [was] to bring them in, and [we to] keepe theire Governour with us, the army then quartering in the cheefe towne; but before the limitation was expired a souldjour of the army stragling abroad hapned into the enemyes quarters, and gave them a full account of our being defeated in Hispaniola (for which fault hee was hanged), whereuppon the enemy fell of from the Articles of peace to Articles of hostility, and did much spoile uppon our souldjourns stragling abroad in the countrey to get cassader to make breade² (of which the army was in greate neede). Soe after this there was a commanded party out of each regiment of the best souldjourns, consisting of above 2500, to march westward into the countrey (part of which went by sea), to finde out the enemies and engage them if they could appeare, or elce force them out of any habitable parts of the countrey, which partie after haveing bin forth ner a forthnith returned, haveing done little more then onely foraged the countrey, and taken about 20 prisoners, of which 2 were English men left there by Captain Jackson in his expedicion.³ After this another partie was sent forth, who remained 15 miles from the citty in plantacions. Afterwards little of accions, onely the army was devided by regiments

¹ In MS. 'courdy.'² *I.e.* 'cassava.'³ In 1642(?).

into severall quarters of the habitable parts of the countrey to plant guarrisons. The enemy kept the woods and mountaines, and were to the best of my intelligence about three or 4000 of all sorts, not above 700 Spaniards, the rest Malatoes and negers. Our army consisted of 6000 at least (the sea regiment being on ship-board), of which about 500 were sick and unable for service, and very bad accomodacion for them.¹

Extracts from Newsletters, 1655

Westminster, Oct. 20, 1655.—The fleete under the command of Generall Penne is paid off, and £100,000 more will pay off Generall Blakes fleete. His Highnesse hath desired the loane of £80000(?) from the Citty uppon good security, which they will answer his Highnesse in . . . Our West India business goes on with all vigor and resolution, soe much being expressed in a privat fast kept Thursday last by his Highnesse for that very purpose.

- f. 137. *October 27, 1655.*—The Spanish Ambassadour, having soe often demanded audience and nott prevayling, hath his pasport given him, against which hee excepts as being defective in matter of forme, extending onely to his perticuler person and not to his servants and goods, and further for that therein hee is cited as hee was, late Ambassador *secundum formam*; and because hee accounts it too much beneath his honour to make his addresse on his owne behalfe, hee hath prevail'd with the Venitian Ambassadour to doe it for him, (viz.) to effect the renovacion and alteration of his pasport. Lieutenant Colonel Jo. Lilburne came to Dover in order (as is conceived) to bee brought neere. All our merchant shippes are come from Antwerpe fearing the imbargo would bee in force there. A petition from the protestant inhabitants in Ireland for the makinge the Lord Henry Cromwell Lord Lieutenant of Ireland

¹ This narrative was evidently written by an officer in Fortescue's regiment, and probably by one of its captains, but the newsletters contain no evidence as to its authorship. It should be compared with the documents printed in Granville Penn's *Memorials of Sir William Penn*, the letters on the Jamaica expedition in Thurloe, and the accounts printed in the Appendix.

will soone bee brought over to his Highnesse by their agent designing for that purpose. The peace with France was finally concluded and sealed Wednesday night last, by the commissioners appointed on the behalfe of his Highnesse [and] by the Lord Ambassader from France.

November 8, 1655.—Col. Harvie, one of the Commissioners of f. 138b. the Customes is committed to the Tower the Councill hath already discovered about £30,000 of which hee hath cheated the State, and did mannage the businesse of the Customes wholly, and Col. Langham his brother in law, one of the Treasurers of the Customes, and some others in consequence with him. Mr. Feake being brought to Hampshire out of the Isle of Wight by two troopers into a towne where hee was to stay, and being not strictly kept there, hee ran away directly for London, saying hee would obey no order but forthwith into France. . . .

November 10.—Mr. Feake is by order of his Highnesse and Council released from his imprisonment. . . .

November 17.—Col. Prides regiment are marched into Kent; its f. 143. thought all the regiments wil bee equally divided into the severall counties for the safety thereof. Munday last a committee was appointed to consider of abuses in the saile of Deanes & Chapter lands, they being generally returned by corruption [of] survayors (?) at a 3rd of the number of acers, and not above a moiety of the true values or old rents before the late warrs. . . .

December 1, 1655.—A new modell is lately drawne by Mr. f. 147b. Shepard, an able lawyer, for setling provinciall courts throughout the whole nation and a register in every county; it is presented to his Highnesse and Councill, and soe well approved that its thought generally (after some alterations) it will be put into practise before Easter terme next. This much startles the lawyers and the Citty. . . .

December 11.—Wee are yett in the examination of the late f. 149. designe of Halsall and others, and have in custody and in our power five of those who were particularly designed to assassinate

my Lord Protector, and other there are which depended upon this, but this to be done in the first place, as that which was so necessary as all would miscarry without itt. J. T.¹

- f. 150. *December 15.*—Lieut.-Colonel John Lilburne hath lately by three severall letters sent to an eminent Quaker in London, demonstrated himselfe upon what grounds and reasons hee is most pleased with and converted to owne and practise that religion of Quakers, but being stept into it of a suddaine they are resolved to bring him back againe, and shewing² the crosse, which if he will take upp with them they will then owne him. . . .
- f. 151b. *December 22, 1655.*—A most invective and scandalous declaration was drawne upp by some discontented persons in Wales, setting downe the severall Remonstrances of the Army, charging his Highnesse with the breach thereof, and calling him a perjured person and apostate etc. Cornet Day, Mr. John Sympson, and others had the impudence to reade it in Allhallows at a meeting of above 500 people, but Day is secured, and Sympson escaped very narrowly. Vavasor Powell is likewise in custody concerneing it.³ . . . Lieut.-Colonel Biscoe hath the regiment late Sir William Constable's given to him.

Extracts from Newsletters, 1656

- f. 153. *January 1, 165 $\frac{5}{6}$.*—His Highnesse being more and more threatened and endangered of late by a new intended designe of the royalist party then formerly, 12 of the most faithfull valiant and proper souldiers in each regiment of horse (to the number of 150) are ordered to be added as a guard for his Highnesse, their muster being continued, and 1^s 9^d besides added to their pay. . . . The Lord Deputie Fleetwood was in some danger the last weeke by an extraordinary vomiting but is now happily recovered. . . .

¹ Probably from Secretary Thurloe.

² Shew him (?)

³ See also *Mercurius Politicus*, Dec. 13–20, pp. 5821, 5836; Thurloe, *State Papers* IV. 380; and 'Animadversions upon a letter and paper sent to his Highnesse by certain gentlemen in Wales,' 1656.

The Vintners of London have prevailed for six monthes time to sell off their old stocke of Spanish wyne at 12^d per pinte, they having paid extraordinary rates for the same. The time of selling of French wyne at 9^d per quart beginning the first day of the next terme.

January 19, 1655.—His Highnesse hath nott bin free to f. 157b. meddle with any businesse these two or three dayes last past, by reason of an angry knott in the nature of a boyle that is broke out unhappily by the side of his neck; he is very well in health. . . .

January 22, 1655.— . . . His Highnesse hath ordered that f. 159b. returnes shall bee made from each troope of such persons mustered therein as doe noe duty, of such persons as have bin listed therein since the fight at Worcester, and that noe person be henceforth taken into any troope without leave of his Highnesse, the Lord Lambert, or the Colonel of the regiment. . . .

Secretary Thurloe to General Monck

Sir,—The Cantons of Switzerland are engaged in a warre one f. 160. against the other, vizte., the popish against protestants for matters meerly concerning their religion. The popish party have a designe, and itt hath bin longe hatching, to extirpate and roote out the protestant religion and the professors therof in those parts, and corresponded therein with the Pope, Emperour, Spaine, Savoy, &c. To begin this, they putt to death some, and confiscated the estates of others of their inhabitants, meerly for turning protestants, and held itt in their publique debates as a capitall crime to turne protestant. Endeavours were used by calling together generall assemblies of all the 13 Cantons to moderate them, butt all in vaine, soe that now itt is come to armes. The Cantons of Berne and Zurick have neere 40,000 in the feild, have taken 3 or 4 walled townes and besieged others. Their want is monie which they pray a supply of from his Highnesse, who will strayne himself upon this occasion, although itt can ill bee spared. All that concerne the profession of religion is att stake in this warre

in t[h]ese parts, and according as itt falls out there the face of all Christendome is like to bee in that matter.

Our fleete will I hope bee ready a month hence. They are preparing in Spaine about 60 shippes, 26 wherof will I heare bee stout shippes. J. T.¹

Westminster, February 26, 1658.—The beares in the beare-garden were by order of Major Generall Barkestead kill'd, and the heads of the game cocks in the severall pitts runge off by a company of foote soulders. The frigott of 42 guns riding in Portsmouth Harbour was by the boateswaines sealing of a lettre fired and quite consumed. Some hundred of women are committed to the Tower, not being able to give an satisfactory account of themselves. The great Craine on Tower Hill burnt by accident this weeke, and unhappily fired some gunns that lay charged thereby, which did some execucion. The Councill have order'd this weeke that Mr. Shepard doe prepaire some thing to bee offered about the lawe: that Mr. Phillipp Meadowe bee sent agent to Portugall: that it bee offered to his Highnesse as the advice of his Councill to speake with the Judges to take notice of the great abuses in Martialls at Assises in calling of causes at their pleasure to the great prejudice of the people. A Committee is appointed to consider of what is most fit to bee done for redresse of the abuse of allowing great costes where the damage by the jury is found to bee small. The establishment of the lifeguard passed, vizt. one Captain (Captain f. 167b. Beke), Lieutenant, Cornet, and Quartermaster, 6 Corporalls (of the old lifeguard 20 made pentioners) 4 Trumpeters, 160 souldyers. They also ordered that an embargo bee laid upon all shippes for 21 daies. Some augmentacions were approved of. They order'd that the extent out of the Exchequer against Alderman Titchborne and Alderman Hildesly about the busines of the customes bee for-

¹ This is undated in the MS. but follows a letter of Jan. 22, 1658. There can be little doubt that it was written by Secretary Thurloe, and the heading has therefore been added.

borne. Vice-Admirall Bodilo thankfully received his commission. The fleete goes away speedily. A reducement of severall forces of the army is much spoken of, and it's thought will speedily be putt in execucion.

Newsletters¹

Westminster, March 11, 1655-6.—His Highnesse on Wednesday last was neere 2 houres in delivering a speech att Whitehall to the Lord Mayor's Court of Aldermen and common Councill of London, wherin hee told them, that since faire meanes would not indolge, foule should inforce the Royall partie to a peaceable deportment; and seeing they were the cause (by their late erupcion) of raising the Militia troopes to preserve the peace of the Nacion, it was thought but reasonable that their estate should bee only charged therewith, that soe they might bee in the nature of a standing Militia, and yet not to warfare att their owne charge, being att all tymes to bee drawne forth vpon occasion; that the souldiers aswell as the officers were so many inhabitants of each assosciacion vnder their respective Majour Generalls, and would thereby fitly serve to bee so many watchmen or spies to give notice of or apprehend such as were of desolute lives and conversation, who lived like gentlemen and yet had noe visible way for the same, being cheatours and the like, who were more fitt to bee sent beyond the seas then to remaine here. That God Almighty hath given us many blessinges and deliverances, and now seemingly brought us into a probability of enjoying peace, which called upon us to make some retornes thereof, by endeavoring that after all our expence of bloud and treasure the same might reape some fruits thereof. And this way the Lord hath owned by making more effectuell then was expected, and by receiving a good acceptacion with those who of late stood att some distance with us, soe that the sole end of this way of proceedure was the security of the peace of the Nacion, the suppressing of vice, and encouragement of vertue,

¹ The letters which follow are taken from vol. xxviii. of the Clarke MSS.

the very end of Magistracie. That there was a remises in some of the Justices of peace, by many of whome company keeping &c. was countenanced, but now that noblemen, gentlemen, and all rancks and quallities must give security for their peaceable and civill deportment, or goe to prison. That wee had indeed many and good lawes, yet that wee have lived rather under the name and nocion of law then under the thing, so that 'tis resolved to regulate the same (God assisting) oppose who will. That now the Majour Generalls had gone through all the Counties of England and Wales, and where the Majour Generalls were present in accion these loose and vagarant persons did fly from thence to other Counties, the Majour Generalls' occasions not permitting them to bee in accion att one tyme. And for that this Citty was a place that gave shelter to many such idle loose persons, who had and have their recourse thereto, the same practice is intended to bee sett on foote in the Citty by their Majour Generall Skippon, the Lieutenant of the Tower, and others commissioned with him; and therefore his Highnes thought fitt to acquaint the Lord Maiour and those Gentlemen present with the same, to the end no misunderstanding may bee had thereof, for that thereby the good Government of the Citty is intended, and not att all to supercede them or att least to diminish any of their rightes, priviledges, or liberties: which was all his Highnes had to say to them, and soe dismiss them.¹ . .

- l. 15b. *Westminster, April 5, 1656.*—Mr. Peter is now againe growne soe distracted that hee had severall persons watching with him night and day, who are sometimes necessitated to use all the strength they have to keepe him in bed; hee raves much of the devill, his lookes are very wild, and his discourse ends many times with half sentences. The Councill have appointed Commissioners

¹ This speech was made on March 5. An abridged report of it is given in the *Publick Intelligencer* for March 3–10, 1656, p. 385. The next number of the same paper, p. 401, contains a 'Declaration of his Highness inviting the people of England and Wales to a day of Solemn Fasting and Humiliation,' fixed for March 28. It is of some interest from its remarks on foreign and domestic politics.

to putt in execution the instruccions for securing the peace of this Citty, past a proclamation against wearing of daggers and pockett pistolls, order'd 4000^l. for pay of the wives and assignees of the forces in Jamaica. The Commissioners of the Customes required to present the officers now in being to be approved of by his Highness. A large debate about the Swedish treaty as to contraband goods. They assign'd 200^l. for the funerall of the Bishop of Armagh. A Commission was granted to examine fraudulent debentures in the sale of all lands belonging to the State. Another Commission granted to examine about concealed estates. A list of the shippes to guard the seas approved of. The Revenues of the Excise and Customes to bee applied for the use of the navy and for maymed souldiours. The monies collected for the protestants in Piedmont in Savoy to bee returned to Geneva by Bills of Exchange.

G. M.

London, June 17.—Major Generall Worsley was honourable f. 45b. interr'd Thursday last in the Chappell of Henry the 7, Westminster, his herse being attended by the rest of Major Generalls, 20 coaches, 4 regiments of foote, and 10 troopes of horse with his Highnes Lifeguards. . . .

His Highnes haveing advised with the Major Generalls upon manie weighty affaires of State, they are now returning to their severall Commandes.¹ The Commissioners for regulateing excise and customes are by common order under the Greate Seale made Commissioners for granting wine licences.

G. M.

London, July 1, 1656.—The Earle Marshall of Scotland hath f. 49b. 3 monthes longer time given him upon his former baile. Major Wildman 3 months liberty upon 10000^l. baile. Noe wool, wollen cloth, or Fuller's earth ordered to be transported, and that lettres be writte to the Councells of Ireland and Scotland to this

¹ On this meeting see the Venetian despatches quoted by Ranke, *History of England*, iii. 166, and Thurloe, v. 122.

purpose. The Oath of Secresy concerning the debate of a Parliament taken [off], and a Parliament to be called against the 17 of September. A Declaracion for that purpose daily expected.

G. M.

- f. 58. *London, August 2, 1656.*—This weeke orders are gone forth for Generall Disbrowes and Colonel Hacker's regiments to march about the end of the summer for the releif of Colonel Winthrop's and Colonel Ingoldesbys regiments from Scotland.

Elections have bin made in divers places; Abington, Mr. Hoult a lawier.¹ Yesterday, the Lord Bradshaw, Lieutenant Generall Ludlowe, and Colonel Rich were before his Highnesse and Councill, the later refused to come uppon summons untill messengers were sent for him. I heare alsoe that Sir Henry Vane and Major Salway are sent for: itt is said they have bin tampering with those people that would if possible involve the nation into bloud againe, and that they have indeavoured where they have interest to disswade the people from electing swordmen, Major Generalls, and Decimators.

J. S.

- f. 59b. *London, August 5.*—A scandalous printed pamphlett was on the last Lord's day throwne into severall streetes and houses of this citty and suburbes, vilifying his Highnesse, and perswading the people to make choice of such Members to serve for them in Parliament as may involve the nation in a new warre.² Itt's reported that thousands of them are dispers't into the severall counties. The Lord Bradshaw, Sir Henry Vane, Colonel Birch of Hereford, Mr. Scott, and severall other discontented old Members

¹ On the elections of 1656 see Ludlow's *Memoirs*, ed. 1894, ii. 17, and the authorities mentioned in the note. Some account of the contested elections is given in *Mercurius Politicus*, pp. 7174, 7181, 7191, and the *Publick Intelligencer*, pp. 754, 770.

² *England's Remembrancers, or a Word in Season to all Englishmen about their Election of Members for the approaching Parliament.* It is reprinted in Thurloe's *Papers*, v. 268.

are already elected. The Lord Bradshaw Friday last refused to accept of a commission from his Highnesse for the Lord Chanceryship of the Dutchie, and to forbear acting by his other Commission from Parliament, wherby (itt's said) his Circuite will bee stopt. Lieutenant Generall Ludlowe was then likewise before his Highnesse and Councill, and 5000^l. security demanded of him for his peaceable and good behaviour; itt's said hee will nott give itt.¹ Colonel Rich was alsoe that day attending, butt nott call'd in. This day his Highnesse and Council referr'd him to the examinacion of a Committee.

The Swedish Ambassadour was Saturday last nobly treated by the Lord Lambert att Wimbleton. Our frigatts lie soe neere Dunkirke and Ostend that nott one of those pirates doe stirre out.

G. M.

London, August 9, 1656.—The Commission of the Lord f. 61b. Bradshaw is taken from him. Lieutenant General Ludlowe and Colonel Rich are secured. Sir Henry Vane, Colonel Okey, and Sir Arthur Haselrig are sent for to attend his Highnesse. Sir Gilbert Pickering is made Lord High Steward of Westminster, and Mr. Cary of Haberdasher's Hall is his Deputy. G. M.

London, August 16, 1656.—Uppon a petition of the Society of . 63. Lincolnes Inne, complayning of the great abuses of erecting lately some thousands of new buildinges in the liberties of Covent Garden and Westminster, contrary to the statute in that behalf, itt was ordered by his Highnesse and Councill Thursday last that all the new foundations of the said houses nott yett completely finished shall bee restrayned till further order, and the builders indicted uppon the statute.² A Committee of officers were appointed to receive the lists from the severall Major Generalls of such persons as are fitt to bee sent to Jamaica.

¹ See Ludlow's *Memoirs*, ii. 10–14, ed. 1894.

² *Mercurius Politicus*, p. 7181, August 14–21, 1656.

Colonel Alured was Thursday last committed to the Isle of Man, and Colonel Rich to the Castle of Windsor. It is generally reported heere, that Mr. Recorder Longe shall bee suddainly made Lord Cheif Baron of the Exchequer. His Highnesse hath referr'd itt to the Major Generalls of the severall counties to take care that all Electors shall bee qualified according to the Instrument of Governement. Severall persons were added to the Commissioners in the severall counties for rejecting of scandalous and ignorant Ministers. Yesterday his Highnesse and Councill observed as a day of Humiliacion, and are this day gone to Hampton Court.

G. M.

- f. 64b. *Westminster, August 19, 1656.*—On Friday last his Highnesse and Councill kept a fast in the old Councill Chamber, where Mr. Caryll, Mr. Sterry [?], and Mr. Griffith preached before them. Colonel Rich is sent in custody to Windsor Castle. Colonel Alured was ordered to bee going towards the like confinement in the Isle of Man on Munday, butt itt is suspended for a day or two. Sir Henry Vane should have bin with the Councill to day, butt was nott, nor Vice-Admirall Lawson, who was fetch't from the Wells.

W. R.

- f. 65b. *Westminster, August 23, 1656.*—Heere hath bin great striving about eleccions, especially for Middlesex att which meeting neere 20 were wounded, the quarrell being betweene the parties of Mr. Chute the lawier, who is said to bee as fairly chosen as his father, and Mr. Giffin¹ the Anabaptist, who was proclaymed one of the Members with Major Generall Barkstead and Sir William Roberts. For London is chosen Alderman Foote, Aldm. Pack, Major Generall Browne, Captain J. Jones, and Mr. Bidolph a silkeman. For Westminster Colonel Grosvenor and Mr. Cary who had above 4000 hands apeece for their eleccions. His Highnesse yesterday presented 4 noble horses with very rich sadles and

¹ William Kyffin. See Heath's *Chronicle*, ed. 1663, p. 705, and Thurloe, v. 349.

bridles to the Swedish Ambassadour, who went away yesterday. Sir Henry Vane is ordered to give 5000^l. security by Thursday next to act nothing prejudicial to his Highnesse and present Gouvernement, or else to be secured. G. M.

Westminster, August 30, 1656.—His Highnesse hath taken f. 68. away Lieutenant Colonel Fenwick his regiment, and given itt to Lieutenant Colonel Wilks, and likewise his Governourshippe of Leith and Edinburgh Castle, and conferred them uppon Generall Monck. A field officer is sent for out of every regiment to advise about military affaires, which occasions a flying report that the regimentes are to bee recruited to their former number. Stables are preparing in Scotland yard for the horse of the Lifeguard in order to the better security of his Highnesse person, which (through the malice of dissaffected persons) is too much in danger. Sir Henry Vane hath given such satisfaccion to his Highnesse that his person is yett att liberty. The Lord Maior yesterday bestowed a very noble treatement uppon the Lord Lambert, Lord Fleetwood, Secretary Thurloe, and severall others of the Councill which his Lordshippe invited. The list of the Members names will nott bee perfected till next weeke. G. M.

Major Ralph Knight to General Monck

Right Honourable,

This day most of the officers that were appointed to waite on f. 69b. his Highnesse mett att Whitehall, where his Highnesse hinted to us the cause of our now meeting; which was that Charles Stuart had 8000 men in Flanders ready to shippe, and had writt to his freinds heere nott to stirre till hee was uppon the coast, and that Colonel Sexby had promised the King of Spaine to betray a considerable garrison in England to him, and that many heere would joyne with him, as alsoe how the 5th monarchy men and others did indeavour to route us into bloud, with other thinges which I shall give your Lordshippe an account of when wee have mett

again,¹ which will be on Munday next att 3 a clock. I hope this meeting will much strengthen and cement the army. R. K.²

September 6, 1656.

Newsletters

f. 70. *September 9, 1656.*—His Highness and Councell have been pleased to order that a further marke of favour be conferred upon the Lord Chauncelour of Ireland by augmentinge his Lordshipp's salary to £2000 per annum. Another earnest thereof they have alsoe bestowed upon many well deserving officers and soldiers, most of his Highness regiment at Jameses, by ordering their arreares to be stated and put in bonds by the trustees at Worcester House, whereby they may be capable of purchaseinge any of the Forest lands which are now surveyinge. And because Charles Stuart's partie are yet hatchinge new designes against the present government, they have ordered that all delinquents shall departe the late lines of Communication within 7 dayes after proclamation, which shall be forthwith issued. And that 9 regiments of foot shall be forthwith recruited to 1200 in each regiment.

f. 72b. *Westminster, September 18, 1656.*—Yesterday about ten in the forenoone, his Highnesse being attended with his Councell, the Commissioners of the Greate Seale &c. heard a sermon in Westminster Abbey preached by Dr. Owen, and afterwards went into the Painted Chamber, where hee made his speech.³ The effect of it was to acquaint the Parliament that they were at peace with all other nacions but Spaine; that hee was morally an enemy from the seed of the serpent that was in him against the seed of Christ in his people in these and other nacions; that hee had espoused the interest of Charles Steward, and given him promise of assistance of men for invading of England, and Don John of Austria had

¹ See Thurloe, v. 341, for the Secretary's account of the position of affairs, and Vaughan, *Protectorate of Cromwell*, ii. 32.

² Major Ralph Knight, of Monck's regiment of horse, who was one of the officers who had been sent for to represent the regiments in Scotland.

³ Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Speech v. See also Vaughan, *Protectorate of Cromwell*, ii. 41.

donne the like; that the papists and cavaleeres in England were engaged in assisting this designe, besides some by a Jesuiticall spiritt and disposition workeing upon the discontented spiritts, endeavoured to make the Government and the Protector lowe, crying out for justice, righteousness &c. in the meane while shaking hands with the papists and cavaleers interest, and much engaged therein; that if upon the grounds he demonstrated the warre with Spaine should be joyned in by them with his Highnesse it should be donne vigorously; that there might be union in all transactions relateing to our affaires at home as well as abroad, and a tenderness that those either of Presbyterian, Independant, or Annabaptist forme, might not tread upon the heeles or prejudice one another, as allsoe that there might bee a continuance of the provision of tythes for the ministers till there were another way of maintenance. There was likewise a full account given of the reason why the Major Generalls were appointed, and the good they had donne, concluding with an exhortacion that all the lawes and other thinges which might admitt of reformation might bee in their thoughts, that by the preservacion of the Ministry for the worshipp of God, and Magistracy for the keepeing of people in good manners, the blessing of God might be upon the nacions, desireing them to goe into the House and choose theire Speaker; which accordingly they did, and elected Sir Thomas Widdrington. Severall persons returned have not ticketts to goe into the House, for that they were elected by the cavalleere party, and other reasons. This day the House appointed 4 Committees vizt. for religion, priviledges, trade, and greivances. This day a bill for takeing away the interest of Charles Steward in these nacions was read the first time. There were 120 members or more nott permitted to sitt, of which Mr. Scott, Sir Arthur Heslerigg, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper (lately one of the Councill) Mr. Weaver, Mr. Maynard, and Mr. Chute were the most considerable. Mr. Lenthall had like to have bin refused if hee had nott had a good freind to assist him. The manner is, that when any indentures are return'd to the

clerke of the crowne hee transmitts them to the Councill, and if they doe nott approve of the persons they are nott to have a tickett, and none that want ticketts will bee suffer'd to goe into the House. Colonel Mylls, Colonel Biscoe, and Lieutenant Colonel Lagoe were appointed to peruse the ticketts.

- f. 75. *September 22, 1656.*—Ever since wee mett wee have done nothing but debate about our excluded members, but this day they past a vote, that they should bee referr'd to the Councill for their approbation, and the House should proceede uppon the weighty affaires of the Nation; this was carryed by 96 votes, and is look't uppon as the deciding question; some thinke many will therfore goe from the House, others thinke nott: those that stay will goe on with the worke, and I hope doe good thinges. Most of the leading men which were for the admission of the excluded Members were accidentally or designedly absent. Swin¹ was nott att the vote butt went out a little before.

- f. 75b. *Westminster, Sept. 23, 1656.*—As to the proceedings of Parliament they are as followeth: every day since the House satt untill yesterday most of the time was spent about the Members nott approved of by his Highnesse his Councell. It was strongly urged that it was a breach of previllidge of Parliament that any should bee kept out of the House, and that none (sitting the Parliament) could be computent [*sic*] judges of any chosen by the people to bee members but onely the Parliament; but yesterday it was clearly carried and resolved that the persons chosen to be Members of Parliament were referred to the Councell to bee approved of. Truly my Lord, wee have great cause to blesse the Lord this bussinesse is over, for it was very doubtfull whilst it was debated what would bee the result of the House, and had all that had bin chosen bin admitted of,² I leave it to your Lordship to

¹ Swinton, *i.e.* John Swinton of Swinton, one of the members for Scotland.

² According to the Newsletter of September 20 the number originally excluded was 'near 120.' In that of September 25 it is added that the excluded members were about 100. 'Some of them are gone into the country discontented and will

consider obstructions wee might have mett with in owning the Government and doeing good for the nations in this present juncture of times, when all ouer enemies are plotting against ouer peace and present goverment, and to bring in Charles Stuart. . .

London, September 30, 1656.—Yesterday complaint was made f. 79. in the House of the great disorder in tappehouses, inns &c. and of Justices of the Peace in licensing persons nott fitt to keepe such houses, especially Justices that are Commissioners of Excise, brewers, and maltsters, which is committed. Drunkennes and swearing is also committed; weights and measures are also committed. Upon a motion against blackpatches used by women on their faces all undecency in apparrell¹ was also moved again, both which are committed. This day some prisoners for treason were pardoned, the particulars whereof will att large be in print. But our great busines was concerning the necessity of the warre with Spain. It was moved by one of his Highnes Councell, and afterwards spoke unto by others, and truly Sir, in my weake judgement I thinke so much reason was shewen to have a warre with that old enemy, both to our nation and religion that I thinke his Highnes hath done good service therein, if the Parliament will back him with moneyes. To me it is sufficient that the warre is against the Spanyard, because I am satisfyed he watcheth for nothing lesse than an opportunity to tread us to dirt, and say he doth God good service therein, as did the Irish. The Lord graunt wee may not bee too wise in saveinge our purses, and afterwards it be sayd it is too late; but truly hitherto the House seemed to owne the warre, and I hope wil furnish his Highnes to carry it on.

Oct. 11, 1656.—Wednesday was a day of thanksgiving without f. 88. any ceremony of ringing of bells making of bonfires or firing of great gunnes. Many of the members dyed at Whitehall where the day occasioned great entertainment. . . .

Fryday a bill read for the better distribution of the revenues of not apply themselves to the Counsell, and some are guilty and dare not.' For their protest see *Whitelocke Memorials*, ed. 1853, iv. 274. ¹ *I.e.* a bill against.

Hospitals. The Act for County Registers was read a second time; it reaseaved a very large debate because of the opposition it reaseaved from the long robe. . . .

- f. 89. *October 11, 1656.*—A bill being presented for the registering all incumbrances upon reall estates has taken up the House these two dayes, and is apointed upon Wensday: the House was this day in a grand Committee to debate it, and soe are to bee on Wedensday next. Truly it is a more weighty busines than I could have immagined, but I beleeve it will bee prest soe farre as shall be practicable. . . . All that I can discover concerning Donnatives is that the state will give 10 yeares purchase to those that are willing to part with them, but not compell any. This in the generall: The whole House are unanimous in carrying on the best things for the good of the nations, both spirituall and temporall, soe as truely I feare not through mercy but that God will owne us.

H. W.

- f. 93. *Westminster, October 18, 1656.*—The House yesterday resolved into a Grand Committee, and had a debate about the businesse of carrying on the warre with Spaine, which in such cases is usuall for this end, that any Member may have liberty to speake to the businesse soe often as hee pleaseth, which is nott admitted in Parliament. The publick debts were made knowne, which for the sea forces, the land forces, and the charges of the Government amounted to 856,000^l. odde moneyes, besides an old debt charged upon the Excise about 260000. This you may please to consider wilbee all due within one moneth or two. Nothing was more in debate then how to pay this 856000^l., and it was propounded that for arreares of Excise from generall merchants of London there would bee yet one hundred thousand pounds; from intercourse merchants, which I understood merchant strangers in London, thirtie thousand pounds; from the City of London for arreares of taxes about ten thousand pounds. Then that enquiry should be made what moneyes were in any treasury for the late Kings, Queens

or Princes lands, or what moneys were resting in the hands of any purchaser, and the like for Bishops, Deanes and Chapters' lands ; all these particulars are referred to a Committee.

Other treasurers and officers intrusted with receipts of money was propounded, which will be considered of upon Tuesday next, which (as I remember) is the day appointed for further debate, and it is my opinion that when these things are settled wee shall then consider how moneys shall constantly be rayseed to carry on the warre according to what shall be thought needfull ; for my judgement is, let my owne proportion be what it will, wee must not sterve our good cause, wee have at sea in all places 120 sayle of shippes and 17000 men. I forgott a Committee is to consider of what lands are unsold at Drury house &c. and to enquire into the cause and obstructions why they are unsold.

Westminster, October 28.—There was started in the House this f. 97b. day a question concerning the eleccion of successive Protectors as itt was now settled in the Instrument, some debates were concerning itt as to the safety of itt, butt there was noe conclusion made, butt they adjourned without putting any question whether any further debate should bee of itt or noe.

A Letter from Dr. Worth

Deare Freind,

I must now bee unto you a relator of a very sad providence, f. 109b. but mali scientia non est mala: The West-India fleete were scattered by a violent storme the 23th of this month. In that storme the shipp commanded by Captin Farmer sprung a leake,¹ lost boath there boates and three of their anchors, and were so shattered that they could not beare up against the wind, but were forced to lett the vessell drive wheresoever it pleased the providence of God to carry them. On Tuesday the 28th instant they came into the Bay of Irmoleague² (by land some 4 miles

¹ On this shipwreck see Thurloe, v. 558, 570. The soldiers were part of Col. Brayne's regiment, drawn from the army in Scotland, and on their way to Jamaica. The ship was named the *Two Brothers*.

² Timoleague.

from the towne), where they were inbayed before they knew themselves neere the land, and none in the vessell (the weather being very darke and durty) could gues what the land or the Bay was. In this condition they fitted a raft, and put theirown fowre men with a letter in a pitch box, signifying what they were and what their condition was, these men on Wedensday being the 29th came to shore alive, but soe brused that they were not able to leave the place where they landed, but a marchant of this towne nigh the place and heareing of them, roade to them, provided for them, and brought the letter to our Governour on Wednesday about one of the clock. The Governour imediately consulted with the sufferance,¹ Captaine Vessey, and such other comandars and seamen as were in towne, but the weather was soe darke and the seas soe tempestiouse that it was impossible for any boate from this towne to get to them (this bay being by sea three leagues from the towne, though but 4 miles from land). The vessell had cast anchor in the Bay, but about 6 of the clock theire cable broake, and the vessell was forced on a rock, where it was wracked. Aboard this vessell there were 241 private souldyers, and 29 seamen, and three woemen, whereof one was an Ensignes wife who lay in childebirth, of all which there were onely saved 16 seamen, and about 40 souldjourns. The officers lost are Lieutenant Colonel Bramston, Captain Dorrell, Captain Lieutenant Reyner, Ensign Webley, Ensigne Bramston, Quartermaster Craycroft, Martiall Hornewall, 3 serjeants, 5 corporalls, 4 drummers, and Captain Farmer who comanded the shipp. The officers saved are onely Lieutenant Petty and Ensign Norman. It pleased God soe to order it that this wrack hapned on the shoare of the Barrony of Coureies² (a Barrony that for the greatest part is inhabited by English and such Ireish as were never in rebellion), diverse of the English and many more of the Ireish attended all that evening on the coast, not to gett the plunder, but to preserve the men whome it should please God to bring to shoare. By this meanes those who are alive were by God's

¹ *I.e.* Sovereign.² Courceys.

providence preserved, for as the inhabitants discovered any of them approcheing to the shoare they would runn in and catch at them, and soe helpe them to the land, who otherwise being weakened and bruised would probably by the next wave (the sea ebbing and rageing) have bin carryed back againe. The inhabitants likewise carried these poore, bruised, halfe deade men to theire howses that night, and provided carefully for them, who probably if they had laine allnight on the shoare would have bin deade before morneing, wherein one Captain John Belew (an honest man feareing God) was most instrumentall. Last night divers of these poore men lay at my howse, and this day they all dyed there. This night they are provided for with good accomodacions for lodgeing and food in this towne, and the Suffraine thought to have bought them cloathes who wanted, but it is conceived that many things have bin tooke up by the inhabitants and seamen of other vessells, for which the Governour intends to make a search to morrow, which may helpe for the present to cloath such of those poore men as most neede the same. Besides, though this towne bee very much impoverished, yet the Lord hath enlarged their hearts (in this instance) even to riches of liberality; the tendernes of Majestrates and people towards them and readines to reseive them is very greate. A word or two from my Lord expressing his Lordshipps sence of this good would bee (I thinck) an ingageing incurragement to further weldoeing.

Severall sircumstances in this providence are considerable (1st) that at such a time it should happen the night before our publique humiliacion: as if God had saide, since all my doeings at a distance will not humble you I wish to bring a judgement home to your very walls that that humble you. 2^{ly}. The former rebuke on the West-Indies was on shore, not by the power of the enemy but by God's owne hand: though the Lord hath just cause to bee offended with us, yet hee will not give the enemies the honour of being instrumentall to scourge us, but hee will take the rodd into his owne hand. 3^{dly}. That this wrath should not

happen on an enemies coastes, nor on such parts of Ireland as could not, or would not favor them, but in this part where the inhabitants are in some measure able, and in a greater measure willing to supply them. 4^{ly}. That soe soone after the mercy vouchsafed at sea in the successe of some part of our fleete in takeing part of the Spanish West India fleete, God should subjoyne this sad providence at sea alsoe. O what neede have wee to have water mingled with our wyne; how apt are wee to bee lifted up with moderate exaltacions; though God would have us to rejoyce yet it should bee with trembling. Deare Friend, I have bin soe long in giving you the perticulers of this sad relation that I cannot write ought else at present, and truly the sence hereof swallowes upp in mee writeing, and I beleve in you readeing, the sence of all other things. The Lord teach us to beare the rod, and God that hath appointed it. Certainly though wee bee bad, yet God designes good to his owne name. Oh that wee might learne that it is not enough to heare a good cause, if the persons who are to manage it continue evill, there is cause my friend dealeat ut nigras candidus humor aquas. Excuse therefore this abruptnes of

Your true friend and affectionate servant

EDW. WORTH.¹

Ringrons neere
Kinsale ult^o.
October 1656.

f. 101b. *November 4, 1656.*—Yesterday my Lord Lambert brought into the House an Act for setting up Courts of Justice and equity at Yorke, which startles the lawyers to see the administration of law like to be carried into provinces. This day the Act of Union for Scotland came on the second time, and because of some clawses about the lawes, the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seale, Lord Chief Justice Glyn, and other the Gentlemen of the longe robe who are of the House, were sent for out of Westminster Hall to attend

¹ In the letter-book this is entered under November 19, which was probably the date of its reception at Monck's headquarters.

the debate, which is adjourned to a Grand Committee of the whole House on Fryday next. There is 22 waggons or cart loades of the moneyes come from Portsmouth to the Tower, and 10 or 11 more are behind, but the accompt falls short above halfe what was reckoned upon.¹ Now that its seen what the outside thereof will bee, I suppose the House will speedily fall upon the business of money againe till they bring it to a result.

November 7, 1656.—The House resolved then into a grand f. 103. Committee in debate of a Bill of Union of Scotland into one Common wealth with England,² which was ordered to be debated in parts; they left the preamble to be considered when the rest of the Bill is agreed to, and began with the first clause, the words whereof I cannot well remember, but the word incorporated took up two [h]ours debate, many interpreting that it could not be properly said to be incorporated with one Commonwealth with England, exept all there lawes were first altered, and be as the lawes of England are, to prove which the[y] aleged the example of Wales when it was incorporated into England by Edward the first; but this was very well answerd, and at last it past, and the word incorporated was named. The[n] there was an other exeption made, that in that clause it was said that the people of Scotland &c. should be united into one Comon wealth with England, to which they would have aded that the teretoryes should be also united, and it was ordered accordinly. After this the Speaker resumed the cheaire, and the House apointed Wensday next to enter againe upon the rest of this Act in a grand Comittee, and ajorned till Monday morning.

November 13.—Yesterday the House resolved into a grand f. 103b. Committee for consideration of the Bill of Union of Scotland into one Commonwealth with England, which is debated by parts; the

¹ The treasure taken in the victory of September 8 by Stayner. See Vaughan, *Protectorate of Cromwell*, ii. 26, and Thurloe.

² On this subject see a speech by an unnamed member, printed in *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 333.

cheif which were under consideration were the placing of the armes, and the second, wether they should be free from Customes as they were in England which trade onely from one port to an other. Both these clauses admitted of much debate. Many would have Ireland preseeed, as the better country and being chiefly inhabited by English, but upon the question it was carried for Scotland ; then they came to the clause of customes which brought in Excise after it, and it was objected that if salt made in Scotland paid noe more than single Excise it would be a meanes to distroy the salt works by Newcastle ; but that argument held not, it being urged that the thing hath bin practiced neer three yeares without producing any such effect, and if you make an union you must allow them as much previlidge as your selves, and be as much consernd for their good and advantage as your selves ; and besides if salt from Scotland make Newcastle salt cheaper it will be a generall good to this Nation, and a generall good is to be preferd before a perticular. Upon that [the] whole clause was pass'd, and it being neere one of the clock the Speaker resumed the cheire, and upon the report the debate was put off till Wednesday next, and then the House to goe into a grand Committee, and soe they rose.

- f. 107b. November 15, 1656.—Tuesday . . . Lieutenant Colonel White (being employed to bring the Spanish bulloyn from Portsmouth to the Tower) reported to the House that there were 165 chests of fine silver, and 60 chests more of courser silver, which being weighed were valued at 1000^{li}. per chest, besides the cochineele which was valued at 20000^{li}. more ; ¹ and it being thereupon moved that the monethly assesments might bee increased, there being no other wayes to rayse money to carry on the charge of the Spanish warre (which is estimated by a Committee to neare a million per annum), the House declined that motion, and came to this result, that it should be referred to a Committee to consider how the Custome and Excise, or

¹ November 11. This incident is not mentioned in the *Journal of the House*.

either of them, may bee improved for the carryeing on the said warre.

G. M.

His Highness the Lord Protector's Speech in the Painted Chamber to the Parliament assembled the 27th of November, 1656.¹ f. 117b.

Mr. Speaker,

I had some doubt in my self whether I should have spoken or noe at this time, but from some thing you delivered I think my selfe concernd to speake a little. Mr. Speaker, this is the first time wee have mett together, and it is with a great joy of heart to mee to meete you here, I doe now reseave a returne from God in some measure of my prayers for you, and though you have satte but a little time, that you have made manny good lawes, the effect whereof the people of this Common wealth will with comfort finde hereafter. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, you might have spared the excuse you made concerning your time, and as you have soe well proceeded hitherto I doubt not but you will make a good progresse, and I shall bee allwayes ready to assist you and joyne with you in any thing for the being and well being of these nations, and continue my prayers for you.

Newsletters

Nov. 29, 1656.—Tuesday² . . . it was moved in the House that day, that in respect they had but 16 dayes then to sitt, and many bills were under consideration that could not bee finished without a longer time of sittinge, that his Highnesse might be moved by that Committee for a longer time, but the House inclined not to that motion. . . .³

¹ See *Commons' Journals*, vii. 460. The speech is not given in the *Journals*, though said to be reported to the House by the Speaker.

² November 25.

³ By Article VII. of the Instrument of Government a Parliament was to be summoned every third year, and could not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved,

- f. 122. *December 13, 1656.*—Wednesday last the House expected a desolution, or an adjournment, but hearing nothing from his Highnes concerninge eather,¹ they have dayly since continued their sitting, which hath bin solely about James Naylor the Quaker; for having judg'd him guilty of blasphemy, an aposte,² and seducer of the people, it was endeavoured by some to give him judgement of death answerable to that offence, but the adverce parte (not of inferior qualitytie to the other) answering that hee was not guilty of that crime by any knowne lawes of this Nation, but onely by circumstances, deduccions, and conclusions that was made by themselves of the whole matter in question, hee owning Christ that suffered at Jerusalem in whom onely hee had hoopt for salvation, and [that] whoever rob'd him of any of his attributes was in his judgment a b[]asphemer, but if the people cryd Ho[sa]nna to him and that ajudg'd a crime, it was in them that said it, and not soe much in him that suffered it, and consequently the punishment to be inflicted on them, and not himselfe. After this it was endeavored to bring his judgment of intended death within the compasse of the Mosaicall lawe, which was likewise answered that the whole thereof ought to bee aswell put in execution as any part, and this hath since put all to a stand. As its thought many dayes debate will bee spent yett before judgment will bee given therein.³ G. M.

without its own consent. But by Article XXIII. the Protector might, 'when the necessities of the State shall require it,' summon with the consent of his Council a parliament other than these triennial parliaments, and these additional parliaments could not be dissolved for three months after their meeting. This Parliament came under Clause XXIII., had met on September 17, and might be dissolved on December 10, which would be three lunar months after the date of its meeting.

¹ December 10.

² *I.e.* impostor or apostate.

³ The following notes on the further proceedings of the House are from a newsletter of December 23 amongst the *Carte Papers*, vol. ccxxviii. The debate on Naylor is reported at great length in *Burton's Diary*:

'The other day some two or three members moved that we might rise or adjourne for two or three monethes cause of the shortness of the dayes and thinness of the House, there being within this week neare 100 members gone home, but the motion was very soon laid aside without a question. Itt being

Jan. 6, 1657.—Yesterday the House heard a report of the f. 128. businesse of Rodney and Cole (uppon which the Lord Commissioner Lisle did charge the Lord Whitelock to bee equally guilty with himself as to the irregular proceeding therein); the House resolved [against] Cole herein, [and] voted the decree in the case to be surreptitiously procured, and the proceedings irregular. The Lord Whitlocke cleering himselfe, the House was mov'd that some exemplary punishment might bee inflicted on the Lord Lisle, and after much debate herein the House laid it aside for the present.¹ This day they were upon advance of moneyes, and it was proposed that 12^d. a head per annum might bee layd upon all the people of the 3 Nations, except such as were day labourers att or under 2^d. per diem and such likewise as lived upon almes.² Butt in respect present moneyes were wanting it was rather desired that 300000^{li}. might be speedily advanced by way of subsidy, but neither of these came to any result, the house adjourning the further [debate] thereof till Thuresday next.³ The Lord Protector haveing sett at liberty

thought very unreasonable to vote a warr, and leave it unprovided for how to carry itt on. The Councell and Army men would not with any patience here of such a motion. Some said we could not take Spain nor Flanders with a bare vote.

'It was moved the same tyme that all the members might be called, as well the persons not approved as approved of, for that the Counsell might surely in three months tyme be well satisfyed of the integrity of some of those that were kept out. This motion together with the former bredd some heate in the House, and some reflexion upon persons and calling to the barr. Mr. Bampfield called Sir Gilbert Pickeringe to the barr, and Lord Strickland, Mr. Godfrey, and thus heates grew, but the Speaker was so discreet as to divert it by another question, and we rose all good friends.'

This letter, which is dated December 23, goes on to say that a call of the House was fixed for to-morrow week, which seems to show that the debate described took place on December 20. See *Commons' Journals*, vii. 471.

¹ See *Burton's Diary*, i. 19, 300-304; *Commons' Journals*, vii. 479.

² Compare *Burton*, i. 293.

³ A letter from the *Carte MSS.* (lxiii. 18) gives the following account of the situation as it appeared to a staunch supporter of the government: 'This poore nation,' wrote Major-General Boteler to Montagu, on January 9, 1657, 'is in a tottering condition, not so much (I make account) from the preparations of the enemies abroade, as from the contrivances of those within our bowells, and our unwilling-

Sir Henry Vane and Mr. Feake, the latter of them yesterday att Allhallowes endeavoured to worke upon a great auditory upon pretence of the unjustnes of his sufferings.

G. M.

Lieut.-Gen. Brayne to General Monck

f. 129. Right Honourable,

I am through God's mercy safely arrived here. I finde the people healthfull, but all things unsettled as to plantation, fortification, anoying the enemy, but I hope these difficulties will bee removed though at present they are greatour then would have been at the begining, yet now I haveing given liberty to all the troublesome and unusefull officers to goe for England, the souldyers fall diligently to worke, and I hope within six monthes will arrise provisions for themselves, if [we] had but sufficient supplies till that time, but I hope his Highnes will take care for all. The cuntry is healthfull and fruitefull, as any in the Spanish quarters, situated in eye of the Indies, haveing safe and defenceable harbours. Wee have heare about 5000 men well armed, and I hope well resolved, who now apply themselves seriously to planting, in which I hope they will succeed well, the product of this place being as good as any in the West Indies. Our greatest wants will bee

nesse in Parliament, at least our delatoriness to obviat and prevent them, nay I wishe our enemies do not take more encouragement from our proceedings than our friends do or can. We have not all this time raysed one penny towards the Spannish warre, nor are like to do after this rate we go till we heare of him upon our border I thinke, but instead of hastening that great concernment we have more minde to take away the Militia and lessen our army, as though we had the greatest calme of peace that ever yet we sawe. All these things, and many more I might speake of, considered together with our unsettlement in point of Government me thinks threaten us sorely, yet that his Highness and Council have a through sense of them as I perceive by some discourse last night the officers had with his Highness is some reviving to my hopes, which I profess to you have beene witheringe this month apace, and now I hope God will direct to some speedy prevention, which is much better than a late remedy.'

servants, which if wee once had, I thinke wee should bee the richest plantation in the Indies. At my comeing hither I touched at Barbadoes where I was very well entertayned. W. B.¹

Cagway in Jamaica, 8 January, 1657.

Extracts from Newsletters²

Jan. 24, 1657.—Munday³ the House spent some time in hearing all the transactions and depositions concerning the late plott at Whitehall read, and thereupon ordered, that Friday come fortnight should be observed as a day of thanksgiving for the discovery thereof before it was executed upon his Highness person. It was thereupon moved, that in respect his Highness person was in such continuall danger by the wicked designes of disaffected persons, that for the better security of the nation a kingly and hereditary government might be speedily settled. This was for some time debated, but came to no result. . . .

Fryday⁴ the Speaker with above 200 of the Members attended his Highness at Whitehall, and as they were goeing up into the banquettinge house part of the stayrecase brake, and down fell many of the Members, vizt. the Lord Richard Cromwell, whose shoulder was much bruised; Mr. Sollicitor Generall Ellis, one of whose legges is broken; Lieutenant-Colonel White, whose arme is sayd to be broken, with many other members prejudiced. . . .

Major Generall Boteler is under a cloud by reason of a charge presented against him. The continuing or dissolving the power of the Major Generalls is soe even a cast that as yet it cannot be discerned.⁵

¹ Lieutenant-General William Brayne to his old commander General Monk. Brayne arrived at Jamaica on 14 December, 1656, and died there September 2, 1657. *Thurloe*, v. 770; vi. 512.

² The letters for 1657 are from *Clarke MSS.* vol. xxix.

³ January 19.

⁴ January 23.

⁵ On December 25, Major-General Desborough introduced a bill for confirming the power of the Major-Generals, which was read a first time on January 7. After many days' debate it was rejected on January 29 by 124 to 88 votes. See *Commons'*

Feb. 7, 165 $\frac{6}{7}$.—Many citizens of London have laid severall wagers of late that we shall have suddenly an alteration of the present government, but what their meaning is we cannot yett discerne.

Feb. 14.—The House this weeke spent some time in debating of publique assessments, and ordered thereupon that noe tax or assessment bee hereafter laid upon the people of the three nations but by their free consent in parliament, but the next day¹ after the passing of this vote, understanding that the same was against one of the Articles in his Highness Instrument of Government, ordered that the said vote should bee repealed.

Journals, vii. 481-3, and *Burton's Diary*, i. 230, 310. The following extracts relating to these discussions are from letters amongst the *Carte Papers* in the Bodleian Library:

'The sense of the greater number, I heare was to indemnify such as had acted, what was done being done by the state upon necessity, but not to continue it by a law. 'Twas said 'twould intayle a quarrell, and punish some for other mens faults. The bill was not cast out, neither was there a time appoynted for a second reading.' (John Crewe to Montagu, January 1, 165 $\frac{6}{7}$.—*Carte MSS.* lxxiii. 16.)

'The bill for Decimation was redd on Wedn[esday], and begott a very furious debate about the 2nd reading of it. Lord Claypoole spoke first to the rejecting [?] of it, and L. Broughill and L. Whitlock seconded him, and severall others spoke highly against the bill; the principall argument was the breach of the public faith in violatinge an Act of Oblivion which was never done in any age in this nation. The Major Generalls were very much spoken against, as a constitution too bigg to be bounded within any law, and that it was always the usher to an arbitrary power, and to inflame the people etc. That party take such reflexions very ill out. Its doubtfull they will have the amends in their owne hands. I cannot tell how it is relisht at Whitehall. Various reports upon it.' (Undated newsletter signed T. B.—*Carte MSS.* lxxiii. 21.)

'Wednesday last the howse sate till candle light upon the bill for the decimations, and next day (after 2) came to a question. The howse was twice divided upon itt and was carryed for the rejection 124 to 88. The Major-generalls were very loath to surrender. It was a serious debate, and not without sharpness and reflexions. The exceptions between Gen. Disborow and Mr. Ash were debated next morninge, but upon some explanation though the words were high all was putt upp. It was expected that the exceptions between Mr. Cromwell and M. Gen. Butler should have come on in order, but I heare that was taken upp without doors and itt went noe further.' (Newsletter signed T. B., February 4, 165 $\frac{6}{7}$.—*Carte MSS.* ccxxviii. 88.)

¹ February 10.

Secretary Thurloe to General Monck¹

Sir

The Alarum of Charles Stewarts landinge his Forces doth somewhat coole, the Spanyard not as yet makeinge good his promised supplies; howeuer it will be good to haue an eye vnto his partye, and as I receiue any Intelligence concerninge hym I shall be sure to let you knowe it. Yesterday wee fell into a very great debate in parlament: one of the Aldermen who serues for the Cittie of London brought in a paper called a Remonstrance, desireinge my Lord Protector to assume the Kingly power, and to call future parlaments consistinge of 2 houses, as alsoe that their members who are chosen to serue in parlament, may not be excluded to sitt and serue there but by Judgment of the house whereof they are members; it is alsoe desired that noe person should be chosen to sitt or serue in parlament that hath beene of the Malignant partye, or is not feareinge god and of a good conversation; the same qualifications are put vpon the other house alsoe, and those my lord protector by that paper is to name, for the first tyme, and then none to be admitted but by consent of that house it selfe; and some thinke that this will be very good to preserue the good Interest against the Incerteintye of the Comons house, which is to be chosen by the people; yet vpon these alsoe there is a barre for a Comittee of a precedent Parlament is to ioine with the priuy Counsell to examine whether the members of the succeedinge parlament be chosen accordinge to the qualifications, yea or not, and to exclude those who are not vntill the house shall iudge their Cases. His Highnes is alsoe desired to nominate his successor in his life, to preuent the incerteintie of an Election after his death; prouision is likewise made for raiseinge a constant Revennew for mainteyninge the army; the delinquent partie are declared vncapable for euer of any trust in these nations, and an oath of abjureinge Charles Stewarts Title is,

¹ The original of this letter is *Egerton MS.* 2618, f. 51. A copy is amongst the *Clarke MSS.* (xxxix. 7).

to be put vpon them vnder a forfeiture of parte of their estates ;
 prouision is likewise made for libertye in religion. I haue writt
 the more fully to you in these perticulars, because you may be able
 to satisfie any others who may have scruples about this bussines. I
 doe assure you it arises from the parlament only ; His Highnes knew
 nothinge of the particulars vntill they were brought into the house ;
 and noe man knowes wheither if they be past, but that his
 Highnes will reject them. Its certeyne he will, if the securitie of
 the good people and cause be not provided for therein to the full.
 It is good that you informe your selfe concerninge the posture of
 the Armye with you, because some vnquiet spirits or other will take
 this or any other occasion to put the Armye into discontent by
 false reports. I rest

your affectionate, faithfull, and humble seruant

Jo : THURLOE.

Whitehall

24 febr

1656

prouision is likewise made for confirminge the sales of the Kinges,
 Queenes, princes, and other lands sould by the parlament.

[Addressed] For the Right Honorable Generall Monck
 Comaunder in Cheife of the fforces in Scotland at Edenburgh.

Jo : THURLOE.

hast post

hast.

Newsletters¹

- f. 8. Itt is nott soe strange as true, that the Parliament was this
 day about setling the Nation in another way of Governement, vizte.
 by King, Lords, and Commons, and there are two for one for itt.
 The souldjery are against it in the Howse [and] without doores ;
 they mutter, but I am of opinion it will passe, because it limitts

¹ Undated, written about February 23 or February 24, and probably from John
 Rushworth. Pack presented his paper to the House on February 23.

the King to mention¹ the lawes, liberties, and properties of the people, and not to levy monies but by consent in Parliament, which a Protectour doth not in all things soe comply with. To set downe the arguments pro and con would bee too large, onely this I presume, they are soe highly incensed against the arbetrary actings of the Majour Generall that they are greedy of any powers that will be ruled and limited by lawe. Both sides are for Monarchy, but the one is for a Fifth Monarchy, the other for a single Monarchy; and if you ask my opinion, and if I must have one of these, give mee the latter with lawes, then the other without lawes, for they act arbitrarily, and on principles of necessity, which is an evill counsellor among good men. J. R.

London, February 26, 1654.—Munday² Alderman Pack of f. 9. London presented a bill for making his Highnesse King, and empowering him to make choice of his successor, and for settling the future Governement in 3 estates, vizt. King, 70 persons (to be chosen by his Highnes, and to have much of the power of the late House of Peeres), and Commons. Much debate there was wether the said bill should bee read. The House were devided thereupon, and carried by 120 voyces that it should be then read, which done the House adjourned the further consideracion thereof till Tuesday. Publicque notice is taken that all the Majour Generalls voted against it, and most of the officers of the army now in towne talke openly of their dislike of it. Tuesday was taken up upon the debate of this single question, vizt. whether the said bill should be debated in partes, or in the whole as it now lies pen'd, and upon the question it was resolved that the House to morrow morning resume the consideracion thereof in parte. Wensday produced a long debate whether the said bill should bee considered of in a Grand Committee or in a House, and it was carried for the latter. The House adjourned themselves till Saturday, appointing Friday for a day of Humiliation to seeke the dirrecions of God in this greate

¹ Maintain (?)

² February 23.

busines. This day the officers of the army mett (as they doe weekly) at Whitehall where the busines of Kingshipp was debated; and hearing the Majour Generalls were met at the Lord Desborough's lodgings sent a Comittee to acquaint them with the feares and jélousies that lay upon them in relation to the Protectour's alteration of his title, and to desire the knowlidge of the truth of things. The Majour Generall hereupon invited them to come thether, where the Lord Lambert opened the substance of the bill for Kingshipp, and that done towld them, altho' they were Members of Parliament, yet they were fellow members of the army with them, and therefore their conjunction in Councell now as nessisary as ever; hee invited them to moderacion and patience in this weighty busines, and to waite upon the eye of Providence therein. After severall officers had particularly delivered their judgements in dislicke of the thing, the meting brooke upp. The same day his Highnes sent cautionary letters to all the Melitia troops, wherein notice was taken of Charles Stuart's preparacions abroad, and of his intencion to land an army this Spring, requiring their readines and care to oppose them, and promising a reward for there service.

G. M.

- f. 12. *February* 28, 1654.—Yesterday Mr. Galeaspey and Mr. Nye preached in the Parliament House before the Members. The first was bitter, the 2d more moderate against King-shippe. When the duty of the day was over att Whitehall, his Highnesse made a large speech to many officers of the army then present; wherin hee tooke notice that hee knew nothing of the Bill for King-shippe till the day before that Colonel Mills acquainted him therewith, that hee might have bin King longe since if hee had delighted to weare a feather in his hatt, that those vaine titles hee was never taken with, yett thought itt convenient that a check should bee putt upon the unlimited power of this Parliament (which hee never was free to call, nor willing to agree to the Instrument of Governement made by 8 of the Major Generalls), for that by the same law and reason

they punished Naylor they might punish an Independent or Anabaptist, wherby the interest of the godly people of the 3 nations could nott bee secure as the Governement is now establish't, the Instrument for which hee hath long desired might bee altered, desiring that any 10 of them with some other freinds would meete with him, and debate thinges for their satisfaction.¹ This day the House pas't a previous vote, vizt., that the passing of any parte of the Bill for Kingshippe should nott bee binding unlesse the whole was assented unto.

G. M.

Secretary Thurloe to General Monck

Westminster, March 5, 1659.—Yesterday and this day wee f. 14b spent in Parliament in the debate whether his Highnesse should nott bee advised for the future to call Parliament consisting of 2 Houses, and at last it was resolved very unanimously that hee should. The other House is to bee called by writt in the nature of the Lords' House, but is not to consist of the old Lords, but such as have never been against the Parliament, but are to bee men feareing God and of good conversation, and such as his Highnes shall bee fully satisfyed in, both as to their interest, affection, and integrity to the good cause. And wee judge here that this House thus constituted will bee a great security and bullwarke to the honest interest, and to the good people that have been engaged therein; and will nott bee soe uncertaine as the House of Commons which depends upon the election of the people. Those that sitt on the other House are to bee for life, and as any dye, his place is to bee filled up with the consent of that House it selfe, and not otherwise, so that if that House bee but made good at first it is likely to continue soe for ever, as farre as man can provide.

I suppose you have heard that the officers have had their meetings, and some of them were not without their dissatisfactions, but his Hignes havinge spoken to them at large the other

¹ The speech is given in a letter printed in *Burton's Diary*, i. 382.

night, this day they sent a Committee to wayte upon his Highnes to assure him of their satisfaction in his Highnes, and of their resolutions to acquiesce in what hee should thinke to bee for the good of these nations.

J. T.

Newsletters¹

f. 15b. *March 7, 1654.*—Munday the House debated the first paragraphe of the bill which was for makeing his Highnes King, and it was ordered that the said paragraphe should bee postponed, and debated in the last part of the said bill.² Tuesday severall officers of the army met at Whitehall, and other Members of Parliament and army joyned with them, and upon debate of the busines of Kingship much satisfaction was given of the proceedings and result of the House therein. That day the House debated the point of succession, and ordered that the Protector himself should in his lifetime nominate his owne successour; soe little opposition was made to this vote, that they were not soe much as devided thereupon. Wednesday the officers met again at Whitehall, and appointed a Committee of themselves to attend his Highnes. That

¹ March 2. See *Commons' Journal*, vii. 497.

² First Article of the Remonstrance:

'That your Highnes will be pleased to assume the name, style, tytle, dignity and office of King of England, Scotland and Ireland and the respective dominions and territories thereunto belonging, and the exercise thereof, to hould and injoy the same with the rights, priviledges, and prerogatives justley, legally, and rightly thereunto belonging. God who puts downe and settis up another, and gives the kingdomes of the world to whomsoever hee pleaseth, having by a series of Providence[s] raised you to bee a deliverer to these Nations, and made you more able to governe us in peace and prosperity then any other whatsoever soe long as God shall continue to us the blessing of your life and governement; and for preventing such confusions and inconveniences that otherwayse may ensue upon your death, *that your Highnes will be pleased in your life time to appoint and declare the person, who shall, immediately after your death, succeed you in the government of these nations*; and we shall esteeme your Highnes acceptance of our unfained desire herein as a farther testimony of your care and good affection to us and this Commonwealth, and doe faithfully oblige ourselves to adhere to you with the expence of our lives and estates.' (*Clarke MSS.* xxix. f. 10b.)

The second part of this article was passed in an abridged form on March 3, the words italicised being voted to stand as part of this Remonstrance.

day the Parliament considered of the part of the bill for nominating 70 persons to bee another and 3d estate in the nature of a House of Peeres, but came to no result. Thursday and Fryday the consideracion thereof was resumed, and these following results past thereupon, vizt. That there should be 2 Houses of Parliament; That the number of the other House should bee not above 70, nor under 40; That they should be chosen by his Highnes; That when any of them dye others in their stead shall bee appointed by the said House; That no Irish rebels, or such as were actors, ayders, counsellours, or abettours in the late warre against the Parliament since 1642, unles such as have since given signall testimonyes of their good affection to the present Government, shall bee capable of sitting in the said House. The words 'signall testimonies' admitted of some debate, soe that the explanation and ascertainment thereof is referred to a Committee. That noe Member duely elected to serve in either House, shall bee kept out from the performance of his duty therein but by the judgement of that House of which hee is chosen a Member. This day was spent in debate of the bill for the next 3 moneths double Assessments, and upon the question committed to a Grand Committee of the whole House. A motion was made that the clergie might bee exempted from the payment thereof, upon which much debate was had, but at last layd aside.

G. M.

March 10, 1654.—I doubt nott butt you have heard that of late f. 17b.
there hath bin amonge the officers a tender sence of the present publique transactions, which occasioned the addresse of many officers of the army to his Highnes, who (having receaved much free intertainment) were emboldened to improve his Highnes leave by a second adresse, which was done the last Thursday by about nine or ten of their number, who were chosen by the rest to represent their thoughts and desires in some better composure then could be done by soe many together, which was presented both

modestly and freely, and as acceptably received, wherein my Lord was pleased to use such tender and plaine discovery of his constant regard to his army, and the antient cause of the honnest people under his government, and gave such Christian assurance thereof that amounted to a large sattisfaccion both to them and to the Councill, to whom those officers did yesterday make their reports. Besides which, many addresses are come up from the good people of manny parts of the nation to represent their feares about such things which now are upon the wheele, and are very welcomly received by his Highnes, soe that we hope the common enemy shall neither prevale to weaken the hands of the army, nor swallow up the ould honnest cause (of what kind soever their attempts are), nor yet render that cause nor the army a just reproach to the defenders thereof. These present weightie affaires have a little demurred the consideracion of the releiffe of regiments from Scotland, as alsoe the setling of the busynes of the honest Remonstratours who came from Scotland, whose case is much condoled here by many of our cheife officers and others, as being a bussines allyed with the same interest which is here also striving against the sperit of malignancy in this nacion. The tender respect which your Lordship have borne to them in Scotland is very honorably resented, as that which merits acknowledgment from all good and rightly affected people, who think themselves nesecarily involved with them in the same duty of a common indeavour to presearve the interest of God and good men, that at last it be not over run by cunning and pernicious persons, and fawnings of the opposite party, judging it better to inbarque with that parte which is most like by the arme of God to ride out all stormes, and with it to sinke or swim, if (at least) it be possible that such a cause (which we trust the mercy and goodnesse of God will yet owne) should at lenght suffer shipwrake. There is lately come forth an order for the regiments about London to recruite to two thousand each regiment.

H. D.¹

¹ It is possible that H. D. is a mistake for G. D. and that this letter is from George Downing to Monck. See his letters of March 19. On the other hand it

March 10.—Since the votes, that his Highnesse have liberty to f. 19.
 nominate his successor, and that there-bee two Houses of Parliament,
 wee sitt uppon noe other businesse after ten of the clock (except
 Saturdayes) but onely the severall clauses of this Remonstrance for a
 settlement, and the great worke hath bin that none chuse or be chosen
 Members of Parliament but such as [are] under certaine quali-
 fications of godlines and honesty, excludeing Papists and Cavaliers
 for life. My Lord, I was fearefull that this Remonstrance would
 have found farre greater opposition then I can perceive it is like
 to doe. Good men decrie it, but when the particulars come into
 debate the arguments against it prove very light as to my under-
 standing. This day it was resolved, that there bee a Committee to
 judge of Members hereafter to bee chosen to sitt in ensuing
 Parliaments.

March 14, 1656.—The House have spent much time this weeke f. 20b.
 in debate of the qualifications of the Members that are to bee
 chosen in future Parliaments, and voted that they should bee
 persons of integrity, and of godly life and conversation, noe Irish
 rebels, nor any in Holy Orders, none that denyes the Scriptures,
 or such as will not acknowledge the Magistracy and Ministry of
 the nation and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to bee the
 ordinance of God. Some dayes were spent likewise in debate of a
 revenue to bee settled upon his Highnes and his successours, and
 yesterday it was resolved that 1300,000^{li} should bee settled as a
 yearly revenue upon them, of which they compute 300,000^{li} per
 annum for his families expence; 400,000^{li} per annum for main-
 tenance of his land forces; and 600,000^{li} per annum for payeing
 his fleet. The Excise and Custome will rayse above 900,000^{li} per
 annum thereof; the Exchequer 200,000^{li} per annum, and the
 remainder upon particular offices. His Highnes is giving out
 Commissions for the rayseing of 6000 foot; they are given out to

looks as if the author were an officer and H. D. may be Major Henry Dorney, one
 of the Scottish Officers sent to London in the previous September to represent the
 army there.

- bee for forreigne service, some say to joyne with the Portugall against the Spanyard, others affirme that they are to joyne with the French against the Spanyard, but their designe is not yet
 f. 21. certainly knowne. Many give out that Charles Stuart will bee here with a small army about the middle of the next moneth, when our forces will bee in a readines to receive them. The landing of Generall Brayne at Jamaica with his whole number of shippes and men is verified by letters under his owne hand ¹ and other officers of quality there. The House hath ordered to sitt twice a day for 8 dayes together for the dispatch of the Bill for Kingshipp. This dayes debate was for rayseing money to carry on the Spanish warre, but the House came to no result therein. G. M.

- f. 23. *March 19, 1657.*—I am glad to heare the officers are soe well disposed in Scotland; most heere are nott only come to a contented subjection to what is doing, butt to a liking thereof. This day the House passed the clause for Liberty of Conscience, and indeed much more to satisfaction generally then as in the Instrument of Government. They alsoe passed the clause for Confirmation of the Acts and Ordinances of Parliament for the sale of the King's and other lands sould by authority of Parliament, soe that there onely remains the clause for the Oath to be given to the Cavaliers, and two or three businesses which are comitted to Committees for the wording, and the clause about the name to be given to the single person, which was postponed, soe that by Satterday, or the beginning of the next weeke at furthest, I hope we may come to a close. Truly I was never soe tired in my life as with this constant sitting morning and afternoone. I pray God give his blessing; the Cavalliers and other of our ennemies in Flanders are infinitely madde at what is now doeing heer, as looking upon it as having a tendency to settlement. G. D.

- f. 29. *March 31, 1657.*—Yesterday the bill for attainting the rebels

¹ See p. 86 *ante*.

in Ireland was read, this day the bill for indemnity. About 11 of the clocke the Speaker attended with the Members came into the Banquetting House, where his Highnes, attended with severall of the Counsell and manny officers, Generall Mountague carr[y]ing the sword before him (the Lord Lambert being at Wimbleton), met them. The Speaker acquainted him that the greate Councell of the 3 nations assembled in Parliament had by advice from heaven bin indeavoring to settle a right basiss of government in these dominions, to reduce the law to its right current, and to assertaine propriety by settling a kingly government, which (by reason of the manny distractions and interests amongst us) will and ever hath bin best pleasing therein. The word Protectour was never knowne unlesse in a prinse minority; the woord King the Scripture and lawes of the nation doe owne. At last he presented the petition, and humbly desired his Highnes' acceptance thereof and assent thereunto. Which being read by Mr. Scobell his Highnes answered, that the Lord had inabled him to rune throw manny trobles, and in his owld age he well hoped for rest. That he beleeved that the Lord had blest their counsell, and what they now offered was an earnest of their reall affections to him, but the bussines was of soe greate importance, and consisted of soe many heads that he desired time to waite upon God for counsell and direction, and to consult with his owne conscience therein; and what the Lord should please to sett upon his hart he would faithfully and speedily communicate to them without feare of any discontented persons.

G. M.

The Protector's Speech, March 31, 1657

This is speech VII. in Carlyle's 'Cromwell.' See Burton's 'Diary' i. 413-6. A short account of Cromwell's answer is given in 'Mercurius Politicus' p. 7702. Carlyle's version follows that printed in Burton's 'Diary' i. 413-6. The version in the 'Clarke MSS.' vol. xxix. f. 29 b to f. 32, differs very little from that in Burton's 'Diary.' The variations are as follows: compared with

Burton i. 413, the 'Clarke MSS.' gives, 'by your hands' . . . 'a brazen forehead' . . . 'it being of the greate and high importance.' . . .

Compared with p. 414, 'that right treasure' . . . 'and rather to study to say noe more' . . . 'truly I have noe more to desire of you' . . . 'I have lived the latter part of my age, if I may say soe in the fire, in the midst of trobles' . . . 'truly if it could be supposed they should be brought into a narrow compasse if I should take a vew of them at once, I doe not thinke they would, nor I doe not thinke ought' . . . 'the busines that have layen heavy upon mee' . . . 'which made mee stand under the wayte' . . . 'looking upon the cander and pleasure God' . . . 'arguments of self love' . . . 'if it should have such motives rising in mee.'

Compared with p. 415, 'God forbid such ayms should suffer any dishonest or indirectness on my parte' . . . such 'honest ends as these are that you have proposed' . . . 'at the end of their worke' . . . 'he should run upon such a worke as this is' . . . 'without approve the hart of God and seeking an answer from him, and putting for life and death to him' . . . 'prepared and preferred this worke' . . . 'mistaken in the person' . . . 'by a mistake, and if this should be soe to you' . . . 'it had bin better I am sure he had never bin borne' . . . 'being you have made this progress in this busines' . . . some small time . . . 'nor yet the desire of any may have lust in them after things that are not good shall alter me from giving.'

Compared with p. 416, 'yett I shall thinke myself bound to give you a speedy answer to those things which I can.'

The Protector's Speech, April 3, 1657

The speech made by Cromwell on April 3, which is number VIII. in Carlyle's Collection, is printed in Burton's 'Diary,' i. 417, and in the old 'Parliamentary History,' xxiii. 161. The variations of the copy in the 'Clarke MSS.' are as follows:—

Compared with Burton, p. 417, the Clarke MS. gives, 'very hartely sorry' . . . 'some infirmity of body seized upon me' . . . 'and sought God' . . . 'I must needs bear this testimony to you that you.'

Compared with p. 418, 'by yourselves and me hereafter' . . . 'and as to the libertyes of men professing godliness' . . . 'as a fault in them or any of them' . . . 'Catholique interest for the people of God' . . . 'civil liberties and interests' . . . 'I wish my sowle may not enter into his or their secrets' . . . 'licke Christian men, men of honour, and Englishmen' . . . 'if God shall count me worthy' . . . 'to give an accompt' . . . 'the late warres' . . . 'I could give none but it would be a wicked one if it could not comprehend' . . . 'by another tytle then what I doe now beare' . . . 'you have left me without a liberty of choyce.'

Compared with p. 419, 'determinations' . . . 'and hath all good in it according to worldly comprehension (soveraigne power)' . . . 'memory of that in my heart, and by you I give the Parliament' . . . '(except some very few things the Instrument beares testimony of itselfe)' . . . 'indulgence towards mee, that it be taken in tender part' . . . omits 'in answering' . . . 'of your proceeding therein' . . . 'seeing the wayes hedged up as it is to me I cannot.'

Compared with p. 420, 'May be returned upon mee thus, are there such good things so well, why can you not'—'any inducements by you to alter' . . . 'but it will bee candidly represented.'

Newsletters

April 4, 1657.—Yesterday his Highnesse sent a lettre to the House desiring them to send a Committee to him in the afternoone, which accordingly was done. His Highnes' speech to the Comittee I have sent inclosed, which made many joyfull, and others sad. Wee have bin this day debating whether to adhere to our former vote, f. 36b.

that his Highnes should accept of all or nothing, and about one of the cloke this day wee came to a question, which was wether the Parliament would adheare to there former votes in the Petition and Advice, and it was carryed in the afermative ; upon which it was moved that a Committee might bee appointed to draw out the reasons which moved the House to such resolutions as was containned in the petition and advise delivered to his Highnes, the debate whereof is adjourned to Munday morning. Its enough my Lord to set before you our turnes, straytes, difficulties, for I am not able to give a judgement therein, onely should thinke if wee acted soberly, wee might be contented to have the good things his Highnes likes soe well settled, although he cannot accept of the title, which many thinks would propogate a good interest, but surely that is not a matter of such consequence as ought to be insisted one.

S. D.

- i. 37. *April 4, 1657.*—The inclosed paper containes the substance of his Highnesse' speech delivered yesterday to a Comittee of Parliament, who by order of the House attended at Whitehall (upon a letter his Highnes writ all with his owne hand, and sent to the Parliament for that purpose). The thing will speake it selfe, though there are various comentis put upon it suetable to the severall affections of respective persons, some declaring it possitive, others inferre roome for a farther adresse. However the Parliament after much debate this day passed a vote to adhere to their former votes, and appointed Munday morning to consider of a Comittee to draw up reasons to cleare their proceedings, and (if it may bee yet) to endeavour his Highnes' acceptation, at least (as they call it) a more Parliamentary answer. Some eminent ones that have bin very instrumentall in framing this great worke appeared not in the House this day, and 'tis questionable when they will, though they have bin otherwayes sollicitated by frinds. This dayes vote was carried by 9 or 10 voyces, and some moved that the House would adjorne for some time.

R. W.

April 9, 1657.—Yesterday the whole House mett his Highnesse in the Banquetting House with the votes for adheering to their Petition and Advice. His answer is heerin inclosed. This morning the House appointed a Committee to conferre with him accordingly, and to endeavour his satisfaction, and have adjourned the House till Saturday. G. D.

Speech of the Protector, April 8, 1657

This speech is number ix. in Carlyle's 'Cromwell.' Carlyle's version is based on that printed in the 'Old Parliamentary History,' xxiii. 164. The copy of the speech sent by Downing to General Monck, and enclosed in this letter, differs very little from that in the 'Parliamentary History.' The following are the only important variations.

Compared with p. 164, the 'Clarke MS.' reads: 'this common cause wherein wee have bin engaged' . . . 'and therefore I do most readily acknowledge the authority advising these thinges' . . . 'as being thinges tending to the settlement' . . . 'big with the expectation of anything that may adde to their better being' . . . 'and so I have had of this Instrument and I hope as I have exprest.'

Compared with p. 165, 'a man that is conscious to his own infirmities and disabilities, and doth make some measure of counsell that may seeme to come from heaven, counsell in the word of God who leaves a roome for charity' . . . 'I hope it will bee noe evill to measure your advice and mine owne infirmities together' . . . 'conscience in him that received talents' . . . 'Truly, Mr. Speaker it has been heretofore a matter of (I thinke) but philosophicall discourse, that a great place, great authority, is a greate burthen. I know it is, and I know a man that is convinced in his conscience that nothinge lesse will enable him to the discharge of it then to have assistance from above' . . . 'in such undertakings' . . . 'I had and I have hesitation as to that individual thing if undertaken anything not in faith' . . . 'nor do I take it that you lay any upon mee' . . . 'Truely the same answer

that I have as to this point of duety one way the same consideration have I as to duety.'

Compared with p. 166, it omits 'another way' and 'surely you have provided for liberty,' and reads 'the word hath provided that a man's conscience' . . . 'that deserves very much information to my judgment it is you and none but you that can capacitate me' . . . 'if you will, I say, capacitate mee to give it to your selves to receive it and as in the other thinges that may informe mee a little more particularlie' . . . 'but for the good of the nations' . . . 'our duties to these nations whom we serve.'

Newsletters

- i. 42. *April 12, 1657.*—Wednesday¹ the Parliament attended his Highnesse at Whitehall, who tould [them] that he had waited upon the Lord for his direccion in the last answer he gave them,

¹ April 8. A letter amongst the *Carte MSS.* (ccxxvii. 84) dated April 8, and signed T. B., gives the following account of the situation :

'We went in a Committee yesterday att 11 to attend his Highness, whoe was in his bedchamber under some indisposition of body, as he told us, yet he would endeavour himselfe to meet the house this day att 11 in the banqueting house, or rather at 3 this afternoone, if it stood with the orders of the house and our conveniency.

'All busines whatsoever are utterly excluded till this busines be determined. And I am confident if it take nott, upon this address or the next (which will be more formall, vizt. in the place for passing of lawes and the ultimate refuge), that it will goe neere to dissolve us.

'The royall party are highly discon[ten]ted, and when I speake with some of them seriously in itt, they tell me they never thought to be soe trappannnd (even of those that pretend a little knowledge to the caball) who had better assurances than every body know on. How the scene is changed it's pas't my skill to determine, but I feare there is somethinge of feare as well as conscience in the case. And if such influences remaine predominant, it may prove of ill omen to the personall as well as politicall capacity, and of most ill to the nation.

'Omitt this opportunity, and be for ever under an arbitrary lash, and some have not stuck to say soe with much resolution in the House.

'The other party are very crowse [?] and confident, and thought to have surprised us upon the vote on Saturday last, about adheering etc., which was the life of the whole, and never dream'd on by many of us, though designed by them.

'Col. Sidnam, who had been 6 weeks from us, and all the dissatisfyed party,

to which he saw noe cause as yet to recede from, his conscience and judgement being sattisfied therein, and hee ready to give a reason for both, but if hee may be informed more perticular of their reasons then their vote held forth, there wilbe noe doubt but he may answer that lyes incombent upon him for the good of the 3 nations. Thursday the House impowred a Comittee to treat with his Highnes, and to give him reasons to accept of the title, and if his Highnes gives them any, to answer them if they could, else to report them to the House. Fryday his Highnes appointed to meete with the said Comittee, but was prevented by a rendezvous intended by the Fifth Monarchy men at three severall places neere London. Notice was given Thursday night where one party of them were with their armes and the standard intended to bee set up, it being a lyon couchant and the motto 'Who shall rouse him up,' besides many thousands of their declaracions ready printed. A troope of horse being sent secured 20 of them in one house with all their armes, ammunicion, and horses. It is proved that this designe was laid 2 yeares since, and the intended actors of this bloody tragidy had 3 Comittees named, each consisting of 24, out of all which were 12 chosen to carry on the designe with secrecy; it had such influence upon many that commanded both by sea and land, that severall of them threw up their comissions.¹ Major

came thronging in with their negatives, and thought to have carryed it cleare. Some talke that they have a further designe to discredit this modell, by bringing in one of their owne more illustrious, and more answering the ends propounded. It would doe well, if we could come to a settlement at any hand, but its hardly to be hoped for, if this fayle. Sword dominion is too sweet, to be parted with, and the truth is (whatever kind of squeezynes we may pretend to) that the single issue, the maine dread is, that the civill power shall swallow upp the millitary: there's a Demetrius in the case I doubt.

'By the next I hope we shall know more certainly the result, for its nott a busines will keep, and if we have a house of Lords the names will be knowne presently after the bill pass. All the old Lords that have not forfeited by delinquency will be restored; the rest are butt only guess't att, the first list I have or heare of you shall have itt.

'April 8, 1657.'

¹ See Thurloc, vi. 184.

Generall Harrison, Collonel Rich, Mr. Courtney, Collonel Danvers, and Vice Admirall Lawson are already secured ; Collonel Okey and others are sent for. This day his Highnes and the Comittee began their conference. Munday the House considers of the afforesaid printed declaracion, and the persons that are ingaged in that designe. The breach betweene France and Holland is confirmed by letters, and that the French have seized on all the vessels and goods of the Dutch. Sir John Reynolds is given out Comander in Cheife of the forces lately rayسد ; what the designe is for certaine is not yett made knowne. The inclosed is the declaracion of the intended insurreccion. Monday¹ his Highnes gives the Comittee his reasons.

G. M.

By another thus,—There is a new plott discovered, conceived by the Fifth Monarchy men, which was so farre advanced as that their rendezvouz was to have been shortly ; considerable persons are taken vizt. Sir Henry Vane, Harrison, Rich, Okey, and Vice-Admirall Lawson ; on Thuresday night there were 24 persons taken in one roome while they were at prayer, and there were found a great many armes and provisions for warre, with a declaration and the reasons of their riseing and a forme of Government all in print, and a standard in white taffata with a couchant lyon with this motto, ‘Who shall rouze him.’ There is alsoe 10000 men goeing over for the assistance of the French against the King of Spayne. Lockhart is Generall, and Sir John Reynolds Major Generall.

f. 54b. *Westminster, April 30, 1657.*—This day the Parliament have by vote confirmed the Acts and Ordinances of the Long Parliament, with this provision, that no matter conteyned in them or any of them shall tend to the prejudice of this Instrument called the Petition and Advice. They have now dispatched their resolves upon those papers his Highnes gave them. This afternoon a Comittee attended his Highnes to receive his tyme for a confer-

¹ April 18.

ence, for which purpose all the late votes are draweing up in order. Wee cannot yet say what the issue will bee, but its thought by many that pressing importunityes upon grounds of necessity will worke an acceptation. R. W.

May 2, 1657.—Friday was a Rendezvous at Blackheath of the six new rayseed regiments, which were very full and compleatly armed, and at their conjunction exprest much joy and resolution by their loud acclamations. Hide parke was likewise a place of Rendezvous for many thousand of coaches, and most of all the nobility and gentry of the nation in or neare London according to their usuall custome. f. 55b.

May 7, 1657.—Yesterday the House sate not, but in the afternoon the Committee usually appointed to waite upon his Highnes attended him at White-hall, where hee told them hee would meet the House this day in the Painted Chamber at eleven of the clock, and give them an answer to the Petition and Advice, but upon further consideration he sent the morning to the Committee to desire that meeting might bee excused, and that they would bee at Whitehall this afternoon at five of the clock, whither they came accordingly, and stayed three howers before his Highnes came to them, and when he came he onely excused his absence, and desired a conference with them to morrow morneing at eight of the clock before the House met, at which time hee sayd hee would deliver himselfe so to them, as he hoped hee should put them to no further trouble in this businesse. Tho: C.¹

May 9.—Thursday his Highnesse sent a message to the House, that hee could nott that day meete them in the Painted Chamber according to former appointment, but desired that the Committee might come that evening to him about 5 of the clock, which they did accordingly, when his Highnes desired them to acquaint the House that if they pleased hee would meet them to morrow in the Banquetting House, Whitehall, about ten of the clock in the

¹ Thomas Clarges (?).

morning. In the interim severall of the officers of the army met, and agreed upon a petition to the Parliament, which was delivered yesterday by Lieutenant Colonel Mason, Lieutenant Colonel Goffe, and severall other officers of the army, but not read, who were call'd in, and own'd the petition, wherein they prayed that the Parliament would forebeare to press his Highnes to any further answer concerning their Petition and Advice, he haveing given them [?] his reasons why he cannot accept thereof.¹ The House then attended his Highnes, whose spake as followeth.²

- f. 67. *May 15, 1657.*—Since his Highnesse' late refusall of the title of King, the House has from day to day adjourned upon what should be the question of these three.

1. Whether in course the advice should altogether be layd aside with the government and title indissolubly?

2. Whether since the governement profered by the humble advice of the House, being in it selfe so perfect and necessary for the happines of the people, may not be retayned, and some other title fallen upon which may be more acceptable?

3. Whether the present title of Protector may not be fit to be retayned, with the new perfect advice of governement, and such thinges as may be therein conceived inconsistent with this title may not be expunged, as House of Lords and such like, and the whole remnant remayne?

- f. 68. *May 16, 1657.*—Munday the House spent in debate uppon the bill for probate of wills and granting administracions, and order'd the same to bee ingros't. Tuesday³ the Speaker had strenght only to make a short report of his Highnes' last answer to the Parliament, but could not sit soe long as to heare any debate thereupon, soe the House adjorn'd till the next morning, but satt in a Grand

¹ Thurloe, vi. 281; Ludlow's *Memoirs*, ed. 1894, ii. 25–28.

² Thurloe, vi. 267; *Commons' Journals*, vii. 533. Carlyle's *Cromwell*, speech xiv. The version in the *Clarke Papers* agrees with that given in the *Journals*.

³ May 12. An account of the debate on the petition of the officers is given in a letter from Major Morgan to Henry Cromwell, printed in a note to Ludlow's *Memoirs*, ed. 1894, ii. 26.

Comittee upon the bill of Assesments. It was againe mov'd that the breach of previlidge by the last petition of some officers of the army might bee debated, but nothing don there upon. Wednesday, Thursday, and Fryday, the House debated the great bussines of his Highnes' last answer; some mov'd for an adjournment, others for a new title, some for letting of the debate fall, and [to] consider of passing such bills as may bee for the good of the three nacions. But in all that time they were soe farr from coming to a result that they could never agree upon the stating of the question, soe that yesterday they ajorned the House and the further debate thereupon till Tuesday morning next. There [are] 3500 of the new raised forces landed in France, the rest are speedily to bee with them.

G. M.

May 21, 1657.—Since the late result of the Parliament for f. 70. establishing the government under the title of Protector, the Committee have had some consideracion and debate about circumsanciating the thing soe, that the ancient lawes [and] the present title and government may have familliarly and good corrispondence each with other for the better clearing and security of all just interests, but it is observed that to enumerate [?] rules and circumstances in that case will bee difficult, if not endles, therefore it hath bin mouved as the shortest and securist course, rather to couch all under one generall head or article, then to run into many particulars, viz. to this purpose, that the founddementall lawes of the nacion shall run in their direct and proper channell, and be construed [?], deemed, and taken to have as full force, effect, and vertue to all intents and purposes, under the title of Protectour as supream magistrate, as under the title of King, and that his Highnes' power and authority shall bee equevolent, and its supposed some what of this nature wilbe resolved on. That pe[ti]tion signed by some of the army officers, and presented to the Parliament that morning his Highnes gave his last answer, slipt into the presse with a postscript (as they say) inviting two out of each regiment in the army

to owne and subscribe itt, which in this juncture of time was disgusted on all hands, and there being some examined about itt utterly disowne that postscript or printing of it, and inferring itt hath bin done by some on porpose to lay them under a prejudice, however the same is supposed, and sayd that the generall councill of officers declare against it.¹ Sir John Reynolds wee heare with the last part of the 6000 [soldiers?] is landed in France.

R. W.

An Officer in Flanders to General Monck²

- f. 73. *May* 26, 1657.—I cannott give your Lordshippe soe exact an account of affaires heere as I could wish, all thinges in generall being in an handsome equipage, our army consists of 6000 foote, officers included, and have been very civilly treated by order from the King and Cardinall. Wee have our ammunicion bread with five souses per diem for each soldier, and are come thus farre into the country, haveing lodged in the strongest townes in France, as Montrule, Rue &c. The Boores quitt their houses, and fly to the woods with their fusees, killing and robbing all they meet with whether English or French, they are above 5000 between Montruse and Abbiville; wee have lost 3 or 4 men, and severall stripped; our men (blessed be God) are hitherto healthfull, and likely through God's assistance to doe our country service. It's reported the French are above 30,000, yet the Spanyard have raysed from before Cambre which they intended to besiege. Water is so scarce here that wee marched Saturday last above 10 miles without one drop. The Cardinall presents us with both wine and beere at each town wee come to. Our landing in Bolonia has been very usefull, in regard wee have kept the country and town of Bologne (where the first 3000 of us quartered) very

¹ See Thurloe, vi. 291, 310; and *Scotland and the Protectorate*, Scottish History Society, 1899, p. 354.

² The original is unsigned, but the author was probably either Major-General Morgan or Lieut.-Col. Hughes. See pp. 116, 124.

steddy, being in a wavering condition before, and ready to revolt. Our Ambassador has been with us, and tells us he hath an assurance wee shall bee constantly paid according to the under-written establishment; the sergeants and corporalls (he hopes) will have an augmentacion. Wee find a great want of cheese, which I hope will bee supplied, brown bread and water being strange to our soldiers. The Thesaurers niggle with us allready, and stop 2 souses for each pistoll they pay us, and will not cleare any moneths with us, but supply us on accompt that in the end they may cheat us as they please, but I hope our Generall and Embassadour will prevent it. The King and Cardinall are gone to Peroon to advise with the Marshalls Turein and La Ferte which way to steere, their designe on Cambre beinge broke; our stay will bee hereabouts till they resolve.

The Establishment.¹

	per diem livres	souses.
The Commaunder in Cheife	30	... 00.
Phisitian	06	... 13.
Collonell	12	... 00.
Lieutenant Collonell	06	... 00.
Major	05	... 00.
Minister	03	... 00.
Chyrurgeon and mate	03	... 00.
Quartermaster	02	... 00.
Marshall 2 livres. Captain 5 livres. Lieutenant 2 livres and 10 souses. Ensigne 1 livre and 15 souses. The Farrier 16 souse. Each Sergeant 10 souse. Each Corporall 7 souse. Each soldier 5 souse, besides their ammunition bread.		

London, 26 May, 1657.—Yesterday his Highnesse att a conference with the Parliament in the Painted Chamber declared his assent to the Petition and Advice after this manner. The Speaker lett his Highnesse know that the Parliament by him againe

¹ Thurloe, vi. 297; Guizot, *Cromwell and the English Republic*, ii. 568.

presented those papers relateing to the goverment, with the alteration of that paragraph concerning the tytle, together with their resolves circumstantiateing the same, wherein the Parliament humbly expected and desired his Highnes' consent; and the same being read his Highnes expressed himselfe in this manner, 'I consent, I consent'; which the Clerk of Parliament writt upon the bill in these words, 'the Protector consenteth,' and read it. And after a little pause his Highnes made a short speech, shewing that he came not thither in tryumphe when he considered how great and insupportable weight he set his shoulder to in this worke, and such as he must inevitably sinck under, if the Lord should not by an extraordinary power support him. Hee also implored their helpe (who represented the people) further to advise and consult upon such thinges as might tend to consummate and firmly establish that great worke, not doubting of the same, with many emphaticall expressions. Your Lordship will have the speech at large from one who would have lent it mee to transcribe, but that it was presently forth of his hands.¹ This day the House ordered to assume the consideration of the explanatory bill to morrow, viz^t. that which containes severall resolves as to the addition of 600000^{li} per annum to the revenue for 3 yeares and other particulars, which being done they will be both published shortly.

R. W.

June 20.— . . . Being informed that the trepanners and gamesters about the Towne had drawne in 400 of the young

¹ The version of this speech given in the *Clarke Papers* agrees with that in the *Commons' Journals*, vii. 539, not with that in *Thurloe*, vi. 309. There are, however, the following trifling differences between the *Clarke MS.* and the speech printed in the *Journals*. The *Clarke MS.* reads:

' . . . I believe that the same spirit,' l. 26.

' . . . testified your forwardness,' l. 33.

' . . . to satisfy my conscience and judgment,' l. 37.

' . . . under their various forms,' l. 54.

' . . . if God make not these nations as thankful,' l. 55.

' . . . in the least as doubting it,' l. 63.

nobillity and gentry of this nation into statutes, bonds, judgements etc. to the value of 500,000^{li}, by advice of Councill I drew up a bill for punishing such as live at high rates and have noe visible estates, and for making voyd all securityes given for monyes lost at play since the yeare 1647, which the House read this day with much satisfaction. . . .

G. M.

July 4, 1657.—Wednesday the Lord Maior and Aldermen met f. 92b. in greate state his Highnes' Councill at Temple Bar, attended by the lifeguard, his Highnes' gentlemen, all the heraulds, and very many trumpetts; over against Chancery Layne and in Fleetestreet they read the Peticion and Advice (inclosed), and proclaimed his Highnes with greate solemnity; the like in Cheapeside and over against the Exchange in Cornhill. Yesterday there happened a very sad accident in Catterins neere the Tower by firing 150 barrells of gunn powder, which blew up 15 houses, kild 2 children in an Abcdarian scoole house, and 8 other persons; it happen'd thus, one Cox, the master of the powder howse in Dewell filds, being in drinke, and requiring his servant to break up a granado hee refused, whereupon hee tooke up a hammer, and was resolved to doe it himselfe, at which the servant runn away, and before he could gitt fifty yards from the powder house his Master with the house was blowne up. It hath prejudiced above 100 houses more, by breaking their windows, and blowing of their tyles and ruffecast. Major Generall Harrison, Collonell Rich, and Vice-Admirall Lawson are by his Highnes' order lett att liberty. The time of his Highnes' going to vizite Portsmouth and Dover with other parts is not yet knowne. Wee have a fleete of 60 sayle going to rendevonz in the Downes, greate store of pickaxes and shovells are sent to them.

G. M.

July 18.—This day sennight his Highnesse had much private f. 99. conference with the Ld Lambert, and Thursday last Mr Jessop, one of the clerkes of the Councill, was sent to the Lord Lambert's

house at Wimbledon for his Lordship's Commission, which was delivered to him, and afterwards to his Highness ¹ . . .

- f. 101b. *July 25, 1657.*—The excise and customes of goods imported into England (excepting ale and beere) are farmd at 800000^{li} per annum by Alderman Dethwicke, Alderman Fredricke, Alderman Tems,² Mr. Martin Noell, Mr. Ford, Mr. Banks, and others. Thursday last the councell sat; Collonel Sidenham and Majour Generall Skippon tooke there oath, and were admitted into the Councell. Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir Charles Owsely,³ and Collonel Jones, are not come out of the country. The Councell past severall orders for the pay of the army, and for making provisions ready for the fleete which lye yet in the Downes. The Lord Cleappole his father was created Barronet, and afterwards received the honnour of knigh[t]ood. The Lord Lambert's regiment of foote is given to the Lord Fleetwood, who is said to bee Lieutenant Generall of the army, and Generall Disborough, Generall of the horse. The Councell referr'd it to a Comittee of officers to consider of a reducement of the pay of the army, who have thereupon ordered that the place of Scoute Master Generall, Quarter Master Generall, and one of the Adjutant Generalls, bee heerafter reduced, and likewise the traine, and 100 out of every regiment of foote, whereby the sume of 100000^{li} per annum is retrencht; they have in this report desired that his Highnes would bee pleased to take care of those officers whose pay is reduced, they having faithfully served the publike. Yesterday Collonell Sexby (disguised in a very poore habit, and with an overgrowne beard) was taken one shipp board going out of the nacion, and after a short examinacion by his Highnes was sent prisoner to the Tower.

- f. 105. *August 11, 1657.*— . . Since the publishing the act for gameing for money (which hath rooted all the ranting crew out of the city) many desperate robberies are committed frequently neare it.

¹ See 3rd Report Hist. MSS. Comm. p. 247, for Cromwell's letter demanding Lambert's Commission.

² Nathaniel Temse.

³ Wolseley.

Generall Blague being safely returned for England with some of the fowlest vessells in the fleet, in a very weake condition in body, haveing for 12 moneths last past been onely nourished with broaths, jellyes, and cordialls, ended his most honourable life the 7th instant, within a legue of his landing at Plymouth ; his corps are coming up to London in order to an interment answeareable to his never to be forgotten merits. Major Generall Skippon is this weeke to be marryed to one Barronet Phillips his widdow, a person of much piety and goodnesse. The excise for all England is lett save for 3 countyes. It amounts already to neare 1200,000^{li} per annum, besides Ireland and Scotland. The farmers advance some a ninth, others a 10th part, besides good secureity and a moneths pay beforehand. There is to bee of the other House 12 of the old nobility of England, 6 to serve for Ireland, and 6 for Scotland. His Highnes' Councell here are to bee created Barons. A waterman's wife of Westminster was yesterday delivered of 4 lusty children, who are all liveing, but she is dead. His Highnes came not this day from Hampton Court, so that the Councell sate not.

G. M.

Aug. 18.— . . . Two gentlemen of Shropshire, younger sons f. 107. of ancient popish families, having bin taken by Major Waring High-sheriff there tampering to list horse, their commissions of fresh date (vizt. of the 31th of March) were alsoe taken with them, and upon examination they confesse they were with Charles Stuart in Aprill last, and had assurance that after the end of this cam-paigne the Spanish party would furnish him with a considerable force to land in England, with which they should bee ready to joyne. They were sent to the Tower, and others in Yorkshire and elsewhere are looked after.

Major-General Morgan to General Monk

f. 108b.

August 31.—Since our coming into France wee have had many hard marches, and being run in arreare of pay for 6 weeks together, our men being forced to subsist onely with their amunicion bread, water, and frewte, it hath brought them into a greate weakenes, and much discouraged them, in soe much that they make all the shifts they can to gitt into England, notwithstanding wee take all the care possible; but just now I have received assurance there will come a month's pay to us to morrow, which I hope will much incorage them, and hinder their combinacion for running away. The French army together with the English forces have had the upper hand of the Spaniard every where in France and Flanders this yeare, and though both armies have oftentimes bin very neere together, yet the enemy never durst stand to an engagement. Upon the 17th instant (*stilo novo*) wee beleaguered a towne called St. Venant upon the edge of Flanders, and the Spanish army together with the Prince of Condee, camp't within a mile of us fower dayes together, but never durst attempt to relevee the towne; onely our horse had continuall skermiges with them out of the lyne, and then they drew of, and marcht to a garrison of the King of France's called Ardres, within 4 leagues of Boloingne, which they beleaguered, but in the meane time wee were not idle at our sidge before St. Venant, hastening that wee might goe to the releife of Ardres. Soe that on the 26th following, Providence ordered me to march into the trenches with 600 men, and to carrie one the point of the trench to the barricado which entered upon the point of the counterscarf. And having lodged 80¹ men to worke into the ground there, wee had a hott dispute with the enemy, the English corage with the rest of the 600 men to see us ingaged mouved them to leape out of the trenches, and to come up

¹ Fifty men according to Morgan's narrative and the abridgment of his letter in *Mercurius Politicus*.

to us where wee were all upon plaine ground, but our men shouting, firing, and crieng 'fall on,' made mee indeavour to gitt over the enemies barricade and turnepike, which was soone broake open with the barrell of a muskett, and soe wee entred within their counterscarff, and fell upon an halfe moone which was moted, and made the enemy quitt it and enter the towne, soe that wee wrought our selves into a security, and our losse was 10 men killed, and not 20 wounded. Myselfe received a slight shott in the arme, which blessed bee God is since recovered together with most of our wounded men. Marshall Turinn with most of the nobillitie in the army have had a high respect for us ever since. But indeed for the common and ordinary sort they are soe blasphemous and vile both in words and actions, that it would make any that feare God unwilling to reside (?) among them. If I had wings, and God would permit mee to fly for an hower or two to Dalkeith, I should acquaint your Lordship with many passages which I must omit at this time. As soone as St. Venant was yelded wee drew of, and marcht night and day towards the releife of Ardres, but the ennemy hearing wee were within halfe a dayes march of them, notwithstanding they had finished 3 mines and were redy to lodge the powder in them, yet they were danted, and durst not stay our coming, but marcht of, and left many of their men to the mercie of the garrison, and marcht downe by Gravelin and Dunkerke into Flanders, soe that wee are like to have noe farther action this yeare, save only to lye upon the borders of Flanders till the beginyng of October to waite what the ennemy will doe at the latter end of the yeare.

J. Mo.¹

¹ The signature should be T. not J. Mo. The letter is evidently by Major-General Thomas Morgan, and it exactly confirms the account of the siege of St. Venant given by him in his narrative. See 'A true and just Relation of Major-General Sir Thomas Morgan's Progress in France and Flanders,' *Harleian Miscellany*, ed. Park, iii. 342. On the siege of St. Venant, see also Thurloe, vi. 480, 487, and Bourelly, *Deux Campagnes de Turenne*, 1886, p. 27, and *Mercurius Politicus*, September 3, 1657, pp. 1590, 1597.

Newsletters

August 25, 1657.— . . . Major Generall Skippon was this day married to Baron[et] Phillipp's widow. His Highness hath bin at Hampton Court ten dayes together, her Highness not being well, and himselfe in a course of phisick, soe that the Councell have not sat in all that time. The funerall of Generall Blacke is deferred till tomorrow sennight. The Lord Richard Cromwell hath broake his thigh by a fall in hunting, but it is sett again, and his lordship in a hopefull way of recovery.

f. 110. *September 2.*—This day his Highness returned from Hamton Court after a fortnight's residence there. . . .

f. 112. *Sep'tember 8.*—Thursday last ¹ his Highnesse, with severall of his Councill, and many officers of the army, kept att Hampton Court a day of Thankesgiving for the never to bee forgotten victories at Dumbar and at Worcester. Friday Generall Blacke's corpes were interred in Henry the 7th's chappell, attended in greate state by severall of the Councell, Comissioners for the Admiralty, officers of the army and navy, Lord Maior and Aldermen of London, and many other persons of quallitie, in the states barges and all those belonging to the severall companies of London; those with small boates covered [the] Themes from the Tower to Westminster bridge, where great gunns plaid all along, and after interment the land forces made very many laudable volleys.² The Portugall Imbassador has had audience,³ he desires ayd against the Spaniard. His Highnes allowes our forces 2^d per diem in France⁴ besides the French pay. Mr. John Goodwin hath bin twice before the Councell for publishing his last booke. The farme of excise is not yett finished. 2000 men are raising for Sweden under the comand of George Lord Fleetewood. G. M.

¹ September 3.

² Cf. *Mercurius Politicus*, p. 1606, where there is a fuller account of Blake's funeral.

³ The Portuguese Ambassador had audiences on September 2 and September 9 according to *Mercurius Politicus*.

⁴ MS. 'frame.'

A Letter from Flanders

September 10, 1657.—The French army is rampant, and might f. 113.
doe my Lord Protector service if they had butt zeale to itt. Since
our coming into Flanders with 20,000 horse and 15,000 foot with
an innumerable traine, the horses and mules belonging to it being
nigh 40000, and the waggons 10000, we entered at Marvit¹ into
Flanders by three bridges made with boates over the Lis, and have
taken Monteboy,² and since we marched as far as Berghen, two
leagues from Dunkirke, where Don [John] and Condé lay incamped,
who gave a check to our forces, and caused us to withdraw and
attempted the river at Watten Abbey (a monestery of English
Jesuites), where we gained one forte, and are now before another,
and then they promisse to beseige Mardike, but we thinke the
season of the yeare will admitt of nothing else. However they are
not idle for themselves, for they have settled contributions as far
as Brussels on our coming into this countrey. They set up at Gaunt
the Black Standart, which was not out in 17 yeares; it betokens
a generall summons of all betweene 16 and 60. The Spaniards
are not only low, but also cowl. Don Jon is gon into Dunkirke
with 3000, Condie is at Berghen with 5000 horse and 2000 foote,
Graveling hath 4000 foote in it, and Mardike as full as it can hold,
soe that their is little good to be expected.³

Sept. 22.—2000 souldiers out of the severall foote regiments in f. 115.
and neere this citty (under command of Col. Gibbons and Major
Keame as Lieutenant Colonell) fell downe this day to Gravesend
in order to their speedy voyage to Dunkirke.

Sept. 29.—The Lord Lambert's services are referred to the f. 116.
consideration of a committee of the Councell, who are to prepare
the draught of an act to bee offered to the Parliament for settling
a considerable estate upon him. For the interim his Highness is

¹ Marville, upon the Lys.

² Montauboy, according to *Mercurius Politicus*.

³ On these movements see Thurloe, vi. 523; *Mercurius Politicus*, pp. 1632, 1637; and Bourelly, p. 37.

pleased for his Lordshipp's present support to continue the pay upon his late commission. . . .

Letters from Flanders

- f. 117. *October 3, 1657. Roade before Dunkirke.*—Itt hath indeed bin intended by the French army to lay siege to Dunkirke, and in order therunto a conquest hath bin made of the sconce Mardyk, which did nott indure siege above 2 dayes before itt yielded uppon discretion,¹ but since the taking thereof the resolution of beseiging Dunkirk beginneth to slacken, and I suppose will bee quitte layd aside for this yeare, partly by reason of the hard season of the yeare, and partly of scarcety of provision for the horse which are numerous in the French army.² The said sconce of Mardick is such indeed as may be sufficiently maintained against a storme or sudden surprise, but may easily bee gained by one weekes approaches; therefore it is thought nessesary to renew an old outworke, which of ould times hath bin anexed to the said sconce, but since demolished againe by the Spaniards. This outworke when it is made upp againe will consist of three bullworks, and the capacity will afford acomodacion for 2000 foote more, which together with those that are in the sconce will make a sufficient guard to frustrate any attempt that the Spanish army can make upon their places this Winter; onely it will bee a worke of greate difficulty to repaire the afforesaid ruinous worke, and to make a sufficient number of lodgings for soe numerous a companie, and that in soe short a time. For the French army, which is now remooved from hence for want of provisions higher into the country, hath promised to come downe againe, and to give ten dayes attendence about the said sconce, that under their protection and their helpe the worke may be furthered.

J. H.³

¹ See *Mercurius Politicus*, p. 1664, September 24–October 1, and October 1–8, p. 7.

² See Thurloe, vi. 525, 526, 547, 579.

³ This letter is probably by Joachim Hane. See Thurloe, vi. 538, 547.

Sowkirk, October 6, 1657.—Since the taking of Mardicke it f. 118.
was intended wee should besidge Graveling but there fell such
raynes which fild all the ditches, which togeather with a high spring
tide and the enemys sluses drowned all the country, which caused
the army to quitt the low country ; 3 of our battallions were left (by
lot) at Mardicke, 3 at Bourbrogh, and the other six (wherein I am)
marcht last night in hopes to goe neere Calis to refresh our selves,
but I suppose wee must returne (as bad as the whether is, for wee
cannott march one halfe day with out a greate loss of our men),
to fortifie Mardick.¹

Vice-Admiral Goodson to General Monck [?]

Our French file leaders have march't the wronge way to gett f. 118b.
Dunkirke this yeare. Truly Sir, our present enemy notwithstanding
his Indyces is butt poore. As to his plate fleete itt may bee
resembled to a great bason and ure in a lottery, where many blankes
are drawne before itt's gott. As for Flanders itt hath bin a great
draine to the Spanish purse, I wish itt may [not] bee soe to
England's.

There is a pretence of the French sitting downe before Dun-
kirke, or Graveling this yeare : or at least their returne to Mardyke
for the making some additionall workes to make itt the more
tenable.

W. G.²

Dover. In Mardyke Pitts.
8 October 1657.

A Letter from France

From *Callis, October 13, 1657.*—The armie lies betweene Ardes f. 119b.
and Watten to secure the fortifying of Bourbourgh and the out-
workes att Mardyke. Marshall Thurene hath bin with our

¹ See Thurloe, vi. 547, 548, 550 ; and *Mercurius Politicus*, pp. 37, 48, for the
proceedings of the forces in Flanders. This letter is doubtless by the author of
those dated October 13 and November 4.

² Vice-Admiral William Goodson v. Cal. State Papers Dom. 1657-58, p. 138.

Ambassador and Generall this afternoone, which hastens the Ambassadour for London this night.¹ Charles Stuart come 3 nights agoe to Dunkirk, and on Satterday at night Don John sent out 700 horse to allarme Mardick, and man'd a greate many boates and a fire shipp with a resolucion to fire our shipping that were within the Splinter, but one of our friggats perseaving their designe discharged severall guns among them, which forced them back (4 considerable persons being slayne); most of them that came by sea were drunck, but such as came by land frightened our men soe much that they quitted the counterscarf, and retreated to the foss border [?] very unworthy, which is a greate troble to many; the fault must bee in some officers, for where they stand the souldiers never flie. Wee have abondance of sick men, and are likely to bee more, for sicknes is heere very riffe; it takes them with giddines in the head, and distracts, many swellings in the legs and joynts, violent feavours, and agues of all sorts; severall dye dayly by reason of ill accommodacion and the slight care the French take of us. If wee be able to keepe Burghburgh and Mardick, Gravelin must of nescessity yeald in the Spring, for it is in a manner besidged. The court is at Metz in Lorraine attending close the elecion, and the Mons[ieurs] are in [hope to] ballance the busines against the King of Spaine.²

f. 119a. *October 10.*—Lt. Col. White of his Highness owne regiment went over yesterday Governor to Mardicke, the late Governor Clerke being very sicke.

f. 121b. *Oct. 26, 1657, Dalkeith.*—This day Capt. Geo. Watkinson and Lt. Foster of Capt. Bradford's troope in M. G. Lilburne's regiment came to the headquarters, being sent for for being Quakers, and testified soe much by their being covered, and expressions of joy

¹ Lockhart arrived at London on October 15, and pp. 54, 70, 80, 84.

² This letter was doubtless written by the same officer as that of November 4, which follows p. 124. There was a more serious attack on Mardyke on October 22. See *Mercurius Politicus*, under October 24.

for suffering for bearing testimony to the Truth (as they termed itt), and were dismissed the Army.

November 3, 1657.—The late Lord Maior Titchborne is said to f. 122.
bee chosen one of the Councell of Scotland and President thereof. The Lord Fairfax hath this last weeke twice attended his Highnes, and the Lady Fairfax on her Highnes, though neither of them did all the time they were here the last summer, notwithstanding the Lord Richard, the Lord Fleetewood, and severall of the Councell did by his Highnes' command visitt them both. The Dutch Ambasadour preparing to withdraw himselfe from hence, and the newes of our seizing 12 Flemish . . . bottomes occations a generall report that a new warr is beginning with Holland. This day the Lord Fairfax expected an answer of his aplicacion to his Highnes and Councell, concerning the liberty of his son (the Ducke of Buckingham) till the next session of Parliament, but as yet none is given. The bannes is now asking betweene his Highnes' doughter the Lady Frances and the young Lord Rich. G. M.

A Letter from France

November 4.—The armie are this week disencamping, and will f. 122b.
bee for their refreshing quarters.¹ Mardyke, Bourbourgh, and severall other fortes which wee built to secure these passages being in a tenable condition, our men of late (though in a mean condition) doe stand stifly to their tacklings, and repulse the enimie with losse as often as he attempts. We have of one battalian at Mardike,² 3 at Bourburgh, and 5 here and the villages adjacent, where the sick of all the army are a very sad spectacle to behold; the Lord comfort them, for we have neither firing, straw, or covering save what we pay for, yet in regard it is for his Highness' service and the interest of England we will cheer-

¹ *Mercurius Politicus*, under November 7 (p. 88), says that Turenne was moving the French army towards Ardres for change of quarters.

² Four battalions? See p. 121.

fully imbrace the greatest hardships, and by God's assistance wade through all difficulties, every one taking his proportion of the work, which in 5 or 6 moneths tyme we hope to overcome, and then the season of the year will promisse us better things ; in the interim God's will be done.¹

Lieutenant Colonel Hughes to General Monck

f. 123b. *November 4, 1657.*—Marshall Turene is this weeke to disencampe and to lodge his army in their refreshing quarters about Bollogny, for indeed they have endur'd aboundance of hardshippes. All the pallisadoes for Bourbourgh, and for 4 new forts which we built to secure the passages to Mardike, were carried by the horsmen about 7 mile through an extraordinary deepe way, and likewise they goe 7 and 8 miles for forrage, which hath much impoverished these quarters. Our Embassadour was this weeke with Thurin to urge the keeping of Mardike wholly on the French, or at least the government to a French man, and neither was assented unto ; yet their was a comission signed and sent to Sir John Renolds (who is in the forte) to keepe the same for the King of France, which he will hardly accept of, unlesse he receives private instructions from his Highnesse theirunto.² Our soldiers have gained their old courage, and stand stoutly to their worke, for the enemie approached towards our workes about 10 at night, and lodged themselves very neare the same for 6 houres, but were very gallantly repulsed, and forced to withdraw before day, leaving their faggots, spades, and pick-axes, with some hand granadoes behinde them. Marshall Thurinn receiving the alarum was by day breake with his whole army at Bourbourgh, having marched with incredeble speed ;³ his stay thus longe in the feild is to see the works at Mardike and Bourbourgh finished, the last is already tenable. This is a very sickly season, few of either officers or

¹ See *Mercurius Politicus*, Nov. 5–12, 1657, p. 95.

² See Thurloe, vi. 605, 614, 618.

³ *Ibid.*, vi. 578.

soldiers escapeing, we bury 7 and 8 every day out of this towne out of 4 battalions, we have 3 Collonells very sick, with abondance of officers and above 1000 soldiers; the Lord support and enable us to wade through these difficulties, it being his Highnesse's service and the interest of our country, which I trust will be compleated in 6 or 7 moneths tyme. The Majour Generall (who takes a great deale of paines) is this day sent for to Mardike, I suppose to releive the Generall who will come here for a tyme. The Courte is come to Paris where the Embassadour is repaired; had the French beene at first as zealous for our service as now they seme to be, they might have fulfilled the treaty without this intollerable toyle, which hath ruined neare halfe their gallant army. R. H.

Given 4 leages from Callis November 4th 1657. Old stile.

Graveline is in a manner blocked up.

Newsletters

November 7, 1657.—The great towne discourse is of the tryall f. 123. yesterday att the Upper Bench betweene young Mr. Dutton and Mr. Colt, who had married one of old Dutton's daughters, and brought a writt of ejection to throw Mr. Dutton out of all except 1000^{li} a yeare, uppon pretence of a will made after the settlement which old Mr. Dutton disposed of his estate by to the new young gentleman; touching which bussinesse the triall lasted from morning till 9 att night, and the Judges and Councill never stirr'd, nor few of the hundreds of ladyes and gentlemen and other inquisitive persons that attended the hearing till past 9. And this morning the jury having bin att itt all night brought in their verdict for Mr. Dutton; judging (as indeed all ingenuous and impartiall auditors I have yett heard speake agreed) that the pretended will was a forged thinge, and the witnesses of suspected evill fame. And I perceive divers rejoyce that Sergeant Maynard who had 100 peeces fee that day, and formerly a coach and 4 Flanders mares of Mr. Colt, besides all by-fees, hath found himself oblig'd in honour

to returne the 100^{li} againe. All the able Councill in England were retayn'd on one of the sides, and, that together with soe many hundreds of gallants attending most for the sake of Mr. Colt (a great companion of such), and the considerableness of the estate (being for neere 20000^{li} a yeare), makes the great noyse.¹

W. R.

A Letter from Mardyke

- f. 126. *November 8, 1657.*—I have made bold to dispatch these lines to your Lordshippes hands thereby to impart to your Lordshippe somewhat of our new territories in Flanders, which as yett doe nott excede the bounds of Mardyck sconce, and though the same bee a place but of a small compass, yet doth our possession thereof put whole Flanders into a great amazement and feare of future events depending thereon. The principall fort of Mardick is but little, and not capable to give accomodation to more then 5 or 600 men, containing not fully halfe an acre of ground within, by reason whereof the forces that can bee quartered in the same are very insufficient for the defence of such a place, that is of soe greate consequence, and cittuated under the dayly prospect of an enemy. Therefore it hath bin thought fitt to renew and make upp againe those ould ruined works, which heretofore had bin made by the French, but demolished againe by the Spaniards, and those works finished will affourd accomodation for 2000 foote and 200 horse, or for more if need bee, for the safty of Mardick sconce doth cheifly consist in the strength and number of men, which upon all occation may be able to keepe of an approaching enemy, which otherwaies in regard of the cittuation of the sconce might easely bee overcome by a dayes approaches. Although his Highness the Lord Protector is to have by agreement Gravelin, Dunkirke, and Mardick, when ever they shall bee taken; yett is his Highnesse by a later agreement not to accept of Mardick alone without Dunkirke, in

¹ On this trial see Thurloe, vi. 610.

reguard whereof his Majesty of France doth take care and is at the charge to maintaine the sconce till Dunkirk bee taken, to which end are sent hether 3 regiments of the French army to contribute their helpe for the securing the sconce. Yet notwithstanding am I made to beare the greatest burden of our work my selfe even beyond my abillities, and I should thinke my selfe happy with it if thereby I might but bee able to give contentment to our Comander in Cheife, who misliketh nothing so much as what is either spoken or done by mee, and though he should doe it to the greate prejudice of the State.

F. H.¹

Newsletters

Nov. 17, 1657.—The solemnities of the nuptials Wensday and Thursday last were kept with much privacy and honour, severall of the nobility being then entertained according to their quallitie, and as that occasion required, their joy being answered by the Citties ringing of bells, and by the firing greate gunns at the Tower. The Lord Henry Cromwell is made Lord Deputy of Ireland. The Judges being lately required by his Highnesse to make the forme of writt whereby the intended members of the other House might be called to sit in parliament, their answer was that until his Highness did accept of the title of King noe legall writs could be made, nor house of Peeres constituted.

Nov. 24.—Yesterday and today the Councell have spent much time in considering of the members for the other House, but there names are not yet knowne.

Nov. 25.—Intelligence of the interview between Sir J. Reynolds and the Duke of Yorke.² Part of Col. Salmon's and part of Col. Biscoe's regiments to goe for Mardyke.

¹ Probably should be signed J. H. Its author seems to be an engineer, and Joachim Hane had been sent from Scotland to fortify Mardyke. See p. 120, note 3.

² See *Memoirs of James II.* i. 326; cf. Thurloe, vi. 687, 731.

A Letter from Mardyke

November 30.—The state of our garrison is now in a reasonable securitie as from our enemies, who have bin more mercifull to us in letting us live heere without any great disturbance, then our freinds in England have bin carefull to keepe us alive with such supplies as wee stand in need of; for I have bin heere now this 7 weekes, waiting for timber and boards wherewith wee are to erect houses and lodging for our souldiers, but besides empty promises wee have gott but little hetherto; which neglect maks the condition of the soldiers very miserable, and soe destructive that wee send every day noe les then 10, 12 or more to the grave, for wee have about 2000 men, but have not accomodation for 600 of them, hence the shifts wee make for lodginge are very hard and unholosome, tending to the distruction of many every day. Nevertheles wee hope that our condition will bee much better when wee shall gitt bedding, and those expected materials for the enlargement of our quarters. The enemy keeps his infantry still in a body togeather betweene Dunkirk and Bergen, with a designe to make a second attempt upon us, but wee heare that all his officers refuse to bee comanded upon any such designe in this Winter season, which doth but promis them but an onprobable suces. In the meane time both
f. 131b. army and country are much greeved at our settlement heere, but the more we rejoyce, and wee are sorry they grieve noe more, then our joy would be the greater also. Don John D'Austria wee heere is gone into Holland there to juggle for releefe against the next Summer, for all the infantry hee hath at present is not compleat 4000 men, and it is probable that hee may gitt some of those forces that have bin employed the last Summer against the citty of Munster. Our souldiers that lye up and downe in the French quarters sicken and dye very fast for want of good accomodacion, soe that by the next Spring they will bee reduced to a very small number if they hould on as they doe, neither are the officers exempted from the like distruction. Ther dyed heere this weeke

Majour Littleton, Captain Floyd, engeneere to the English army heere, and others. Having nothing to relate but lamentacions I forebare.¹

J. H.

Newsletters

Dec. 1, 1657.—The regiments here ordered to be recruited, f. 132. and by the Lord Chamberlaine's order noe person except members of the councell permitted to goe further into his Highness lodging at Whitehall than the first gaurd chamber.

Dec. 5.—His Highness delivered some reasons in a paper f. 133. presented to him touching the Duke of Buckingham's liberty, but the Councell thought not fitt to advise his Highness to give him liberty, it being not consistant with his Highness trust or their duty.²

Dec. 9.—Col. Salmons regiment (all but three companies) and 5 f. 134. companies of Col. Gibbons' regiment are ordered to goe to Mardike. The rich crosses and jewells seized with 8 Jesuites in Covent Garden were this day brought to the Councell. This day the Lord Richard was made one of his Highness Councell. The members of the other House (its said) will not be named.³

Dec. 19.—An ambassador is come from Florida (a people at f. 139. variance with the Spaniard, and from whence merchants came hither before), hee had noe covering but a thin loose garment, but the merchants have persuaded him into the Spanish habitt. Yesterday his Highness and family set apart a day of humiliation. His Highness sent yesterday to the Citty to prepare a convenient place in or neere Poules church for the quartering of 600 horse and foote for the safety of the Citty.

¹ See Thurloe, vi. 653, 658.

² Cromwell was apparently more desirous to oblige Lord Fairfax by releasing Buckingham, than his Council were. See also Thurloe, vi. 617.

³ A list of the members, identical with that printed in Thurloe, is given on a later page of the MSS. At the end of the list it is added: 'The number for the present is but 60, his Highness having left power to him self to issue out a writt for ten more.'

- f. 140. *Dec. 28.*—Christmas day was never more exactly observed by this Citty then the last, very few or no shops at all being opened therein. Severall disaffected congregations mett this day in publique, and had the Common Prayer read unto them by sequestered ministers. After sermons were ended [they] were secured by the soldiers (who were then dispersed in and neer the citie to prevent mischief) till the names of all the auditors were taken in writing, and then dismiss. Severall persons were likewise the night before apprehended at the gaming ordinaries by the soldiers, and brought down prisoners to the garrison of James.¹

Order was sent to the Lord Mayor to put in execution the Ordinance against observation of hollidays. Mr Gunnings and Dr Taylor sent for to give account concerning the multitude of people meeting with them. Severall persons were ordered to visit the houses where publique meetings were, and give account concerning them.

- f. 141. *December 29.*—Some parties of horse are this day sent to Benstead Downes, where was an expectation of att least 2000 horse to bee assembled to a race, and many if nott most of the eminent Cavaleers.

There are daily more of the old Cavaleere partie apprehended and examined, and I heare some of the leaders in the Common Prayer Booke meetinges are like to bee fetch't in and secur'd, to prevent the designes promoted under the disguise of such meetinges. Att some Churches in the citty there was as bad doinges, for the superstitious and ceremonious parte, as att the private places. Att one church by Garlick Hill I heare they had gott some old choristers and new taught singing boyes, and after the Common Prayer att length in all pontificalibus ended, a young canonicall votary went uppe into the pulpitt, and made an oration or sermon (without praying before or after), half of itt Latin sentences, and often taking occasion to mencion the name of

¹ John Evelyn was amongst the persons thus arrested. See his *Diary*, ed. Wheatley, ii. 95.

Jesus, hee duck't even to within the pulpitt, and all the people bowed and cringed as if there had bin masse. Neverthelesse I doe nott heare of any disturbance was given to the publique assemblies in Churches, save that att the noted place Gregoryes in Paul's Churchyard a guard of souldiers was sett att the doores to keepe any from assembling there. W. R.

Newsletters, 1658¹

London, January 1, 1657.—Wee have little newes in this place, xxx. f. 1. being a time of negotiation amongst Ministers of State, who cutt out worke for others to doe in the Spring time. There is onely an ill accident falne out heere of my Lord Howard his Lady, who itt is said is deliver'd of a sonne 13 weekes too soone for my Lord's account. His brother Phillipp has challeng'd my Lord Bellassis uppon that account, who have fought, and my Lord Bellassiss is hurt in the left hand, butt seconds did interrupt any further action.² Itt appeares that this was a mistake, for the Colonell himself and his brother Tom have both taken post to fight some other person in Scotland, whome they have intelligence of.³ His Highnesse gave orders to apprehend them. My Lord knoweth nothing that his Brother is gone to that same purpose. J. D.

January 12, 1657.—A souldier is ordered to be reduced in f. 5. each regiment that keepest guard in any part of the country, and his pay to be applyed for fire and candle. 4^s: 2^d. per diem ordered to each regiment now quartered at the Mewse for fire and candle, many recusants and other disaffected persons are seized on f. 5b. in the severall counties, and all the regiments of foote here are recruiting. The guards at Whitehall and else where in the City are doubled; the ground hereof is said will suddenly be declared.

¹ The letters which follow are from vol. xxx. of the *Clarke MSS.*

² See *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1657-58, pp. 258, 551; Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 209; and Thurloe, vi. 741.

³ Lord Rothes.

Collonel Goffe is made Major Generall, and ordered to have his late regiment of foote; his now regiment of horse¹ and that of the Lord Lambert's are to be commanded by the Lord Richard Cromwel and the Lord Faulconbridge.

G. M.

- f. 11. *January 23.*—Wednesday last about 11 in the forenoone his Highnesse came by water to the House formerly call'd the Lord's House, where a canopy and chaire of state was prepared for him. There met him the most of them whom he had appointed to be of that House, save the Lords Say, Wharton, Warwicke, Mulgrave, and some others whom I cannot now name.

After meeteing as afforesaid, a message was sent by the Black Rod to the Commons to acquaint them his Highness stayed for them, upon which they presently came to the Bar of that House. Mr. Scobell was then chosen Clearke to the Lords, and Mr. Smith to the Commons, and his Highness standing bare made a short speech, which I tooke; he stiled them thus:

My Lords and Gentlemen [of] the House of Commons.

The substance of it was, that he met them in that capacitie by their Advice and Petition, acknowledging their great paines and industry to proceed so far to a settlement of our libertyes both civill and religious, and tooke occation to speake of the former part of the 85th Psalme, compareing God's mercyes to us as to them of old. And also made mention of the former bad ministry and the good ministry which is now, and hoped the Lord would still goe alonge with them, that by his assistance they might still be accompted the blessed of the Lord, to be made the repairer of breaches and the restorer of pathes to dwell in. Concludeing that he had some infirmities upon him wherby he could not continue to speake longe, but had desired an honourable person (the Lord Fiennes) to discourse a little more pertickularly what might be more proper for that occation and meeting.

¹ Once that of Col. Saunders. See Thurloe, vi. 699, 858.

Presently after which his Highnesse tooke the chaire, and directed all the Lords to sit downe, upon which the Lord Fiens made a speech; his stile to them was this:

My Lords and Gentlénen and both those most Honourable
Houses of Parliament.

The substance of his speech was declaring the condition wee were in, the mercies we were under, the rocke and dangers and the remedies to avoid them, and lastly the necessity for their assistance in suply of moneys for carrying on the Christian warr already begun.

After he had done the House of Commons retourned to their House and adjourned, and likewise the House of Lords. The Lord Fiens is their Speaker. Both Houses being but in preparation for businesse I cannot give a further accompt theirow. The House of Commons have appointed Wedensday next for a fast, and Mr. Griffith and Mr. Calamy are to preach before them.

R. HATTER.

Chairing Crosse,
the 23^d of January, 165 $\frac{1}{2}$.

January 24.— . . . About 200 of the Commons appeared, and **£. 18.** about 40 of the other House, wherein were noe peeres, save the Lord Falconbridge and Lord Ewer. . . . The other House have only named a Committee for privileges, and another to receive petitions, whereof the Lord Pride and John Lord Hewson are members. . . . Lord Lambert and Sir Arthur Haslerigge satt in the House of Commons.¹

¹ The newsletters amongst the *Carte MSS.* add further details on the first proceedings of this session of Parliament. The first is dated January 27:

‘The great debate about the title of the other House hangs still in limine; when this fast day is over we shall come to some resolution in it. I dread the issue; here are very strange spiritts come in amongst us, and there are dayly more flocking in; there are 206 sworne, and likely to be a full House, but how longe lived I cannot say. The great Sir Arthur (notwithstanding his higher call) vouchsafed on Monday last to take his seate amongst the Commons. Lord Lambert, Sir Anth. Ashley Cowper, Coll. Rossiter, and Baron Thorpe came in at the same tyme. His Highnes

Major General Morgan to General Monck

f. 14 Of late there hath nothing happened in these parts worthy your knowledge. Here hath bin a very sharpe winter with greate

sent a lettre to us on Monday desireing a meeting with both Houses that afternoone in the banqueting house, where he made a very longe and serious speech relateinge to the state of our affaires both at home and abroad, our dangers and necessities, inviteing us to unite for preservacion of the whole.

We have had a very smart debate upon the representacion which Mr. Scobell clerk of the other House sent to us, in answer to our order for delivering the records, bookes, and writeings, belonging to this House. He pretended he had an Act of Parliament for being clerk for his life and to have the custody of the records, which was very ill resented. It's [?] agreed that his non attendance has forfeited his place, and alsoe the keeping of the records, and such an answer was not expected from a servant. A Comittee is appointed to take an inventory of all the bookes, records, and writeings, and they are to be delivered to our clerk. Mr. Scobell must buckle, and sayes he will not reflect soe much upon our House as to appeale to the other. Every thing adds to the flame. I confess I like not the face of affairs. Wee shall either sitt a great while, or rise very soone.'—(*Carte MS. ccxxxix. f. 461.*)

The second, which is addressed to Lord Wharton and signed 'R. B.,' is dated January 30:

'The Commons House have not yet fallen upon anything of publike concernement, declining on purpose till their domesticall fast was over. The firste efforte of the other House was a message sent downe by two of the judges for concurrence on a publike day of humiliation, which being delivard by them as from the Lords, stirred the passions of some and exercised the witts of others; but in fine ended in a resolution to send an answer by messengers of their owne. In the meane tyme the Protector takeing notice of the constitution of the House by the accesse of the secluded Members, invited them by letter to a meeting in the banquetting house, where he made a speech to them, pressing unto unanimitie and representing dangers. I was present at some parte of it, but since I heare that a Committee hath beene sent to desire it may be printed, I shall not presume to give any account of it. Upon their day of humiliation there preached in the Commons House Mr. Griffeth and Mr. Calamy; in the other Mr. Caryl and Mr. Reynolds. Mr. Griffeth upon these words—we know not what to doe but our eyes—His observation was that in tymes of doubt and difficultie it was good to observe providence, instanced in Rahab's closing with the Israelite, the people with Saul after the businesse of Jabeth Gilead, and with David after his successes against Isboseth, and David concluding the Lord would now establish him when Hiram a heathen king owned him. He made this application, goe ye and doe likewise; which was the more taken notice off because he is said to be an adversarie to the higher tytle. Mr. Calamie meddled not with any thing of state, but shew'd out of Haggai that the ground of

frost, soe that wee are necessitated twice a day to breake the ice to keepe our moates open. These forces since their coming over have endured very much hardshipp, and wee have lost very many by mortallity, soe that our number of English now both at Mardicke and Bourbourge amounts to about 3000. The ennemy are recruiting themselves, and give out that in the Spring they will attempt the regaining of this place, but I hope through God's assistance wee shall be able to withstand them. T. M.

Mardick fort
8 Feb. 165 $\frac{1}{2}$ St. No.

Newsletter

February 4.—Yesterday a message came from the Lords' f. 16b House, desiring the Commons to joyne with them in an addresse to his Highness for putting all the Recusants and Delinquents out of the late lines of communication; the Commons returned this answer, that they would send answer to the *other* House by messengers of their owne. This day his Highnesse sent the Black Rod to the Commons, acquainting them that his Highnesse would speake with them in the House of Lords; where he told them that they were farther of from a settlement within 14 dayes last past, then they had beene 14 yeares before; that Charles Stuart was on the other side the River with an army to invade us; that their was an endeavour to infuse ill principles into the army, and to

not succeeding in affayres was the neglect of the Church of God, instanced in 10 or 12 things of that kinde, declared himself by judgment and obligations a Presbyterian that protests againste an imposing spirit on the one hand as a lukewarme on the other. When the service was over the next day they began to fall to worke, severall motions were made about priviledges, questioning the secludors of the members, the tytles of the supreme magistrate, another House. In the issue a motion was made to take in consideration what answer to send to the message sent by the judges, which giving occasion to take in the tytle of the House and their chooser was assented unto, and ordered that noe private businesse should be received for a month, by which the Lord Craven's businesse was putt off, which should have beene heard the next day. The motion aforesaid was made by Sir A. A. C.—(*Carte MS.* lxxx. 753.)

alianate their affections from him, and likewise to carry out petitions of a dangerous consequence; that they had petitioned him to accept of the government, and that himself never desired it; that they had not performed conditions with him, and that he was not obliged to performe with them*; theirfore he was necessitated [to put an end to their sitting] and did accordingly dissolve this present Parliament,¹

G. M.

Speech of the Protector, February 4, 1658

ff. 17-22. His Highnesse came attended with his Gentlemen and Guard of Halbertteirs to the other House of Parliament, and sent the Gentleman Usher with the Black Rodd to call up the Speaker and the House of Commons, who being come to the Barr of the Upper House and his Highnes standing under the canopie of State, he spake to both Houses to this purpose.²

‘I had very comfortable expectation that God would make the meeting of the Parliament a blessing, and the Lord be my witnes I desire the carrying on of the affaires of the nation to those ends. The blessing which I meane, and which wee ever aimed at, was mercy, that righteousnes and peace which I desire may be improved. That which brought me into the capacity I now stand in was the Peticion and Advice given me by you (meaning the House of Commons), who in referrence to the auncient constitution did draw me to accept of the place of Protector. There is not a man living can say I sought it, (no, not a man nor woman treading upon English ground), but I contemplating the sade condicion of these nations releived from the intestine warr unto 6 or 7 yeares peace, I did thinke the nations happy therein, but to be petitioned there-

¹ On the dissolution of this Parliament see the *English Historical Review*, 1892, p. 102; Thurloe, vi. 778, 781, 788.

² This speech is number xviii. in Carlyle's collection. It seemed worth printing at length as a specimen of the reports in the *Clarke MSS.*, and because it differs more than the previous speeches from Carlyle's version.

unto, and advised by you to undertake such a government, a burden too heavy for any creature, and this is to be done by the House who had the legislative capacity, I did looke that the same men that made the frame should make it good unto mee. I can say in the presence of Him in comparison of whom we are but like poore creeping ants upon the earth, I would have been glad to have lived under my wood side to have kept a flock of sheep rather then undertook such a place of government as this is; but undertaking it by the Advise and Petition of you, I did look that you that did offer it unto mee should have made it good.

‘I did tell you at a conference concerning it, that I would not undertake it unlesse there might be some other persons between me and the House of Commons, who then had the legislative power, to prevent tumultuous and popular spirits, and it was granted I should name another House, and I named it of men that should meet you wheresoever you goe, and shake hands with you, and tell you it is not titles, nor Lords, nor party they value, but a Christian and an English interest; men of their own ranke and quality, who would not only be a ballance unto you, but to themselves while you love England and Religion. Having proceeded upon these termes and finding such a spirit as is too much predominate, every thing being too high or too low, when vertue and honesty, piety, and justice, are omitted, I thought I had been doing that which was my duty, and thought it would have satisfied you. But if every thing must be too high or too low, you are not satisfied. . . .

‘. . . I would not have accepted of the government unless I knew there would be a just reciprocation between the governor and the governed; unlesse they would take an oath to make good what the Parliaments Petition and Advice advised me unto. Upon that reciprocation I tooke an oath, and they tooke an oath upon their part answerable to mine, and did not every one know upon what condicion they swore? God knows I tooke it upon condicions expressed in the government, and I did thinke wee

had been upon one foundation, and upon one bottome; and thereupon I thought my self obliged to take it, and to be advised by these two Houses of Parliament. Wee standing unsettled till wee were arrived at [that], the consequence [of] which would have necessarily been confusion if that had not been settled, yet it is not made hereditary Lords nor hereditary Kings, the power consisting in the two Houses and my self. I do not say what¹ the meaning of your oath was to you, that were to go against mine own principles to enter upon another man's conscience, God will judge between me and you, if there were any intention of settlement, you would have settled upon these bases, and have offered your judgement and oppinion where you pleased therewith.

'God is my witnes I speake, it is evident to all the world and people living that a new busines hath been seeking in the army against this actuall settlement, by your consent; and I do not speak to these Gentlemen or Lords (pointing to his right hand and left), whatsoever you will call them, I speake not this to them, but to you. You advised me to run into this place, to be in a capacity by your advise, yet instead of owning your oath taken for a grant, some must have I know not what; and you have not only disjoyned your selves, but the whole nation, which is in all likelihood running into more confusion within these 15 or 16 dayes that you have sat, then they have done from the rising of the last session to this day; through the intention of devising a Commonwealth againe, that some of the people might be the men that might rule all, and they are indeavoring to ingage the army and carry on that thing. And hath that man been true to this nation whosoever, hee especially that hath taken an oath, thus to prevaricate? These designes have been upon the army to breake and divide us, I speak this in presence of some of the army. That these things have not been according to God, nor according to truth, pretend what you will. These things tend to nothing else but the playing the King of Scotts his game, if I may so call him, and I thinke myself bound

¹ wthat in MS.

before God to do what I can to prevent it. That which I told you in the Banqueting House was true, that there were preparacions of force to invade us, God is my witness. It is confirmed to me since, within a day, that the King of Scotts hath an army at the water-side ready to be shipped for England. I have it from those who are eye witness of it. And whilst that is doing there are endeavours from some who are not farr from this place to stirr up the people of this town into a tumulting, what if I said, into rebellion, and I hope I shall make it appeare to be no better, if God assist me. That it is not only by endeavours to prevent the army (whilst you have been sitting), and to draw them to state the question of a Comonwealth, but are also listing of persons by Commission from Charles Stuart to joyne with any insurrection that may be made; and what is like to come upon this (the enemy being ready to invade us), but present ruine, blood, and confusion. And if this be so, and that I do assigne it to this cause, even to the not assenting to that you did invite me to by the Petition and Advise (that might have been the settlement of the nation). And if this be the end of your sitting, and those be the carriage, I thinke it high time that an end be put unto your sitting. And I do declare to you I do dissolve this Parliament, and let God judge between mee and you.' To which end many of the Commons cryed Amen. And so the Parliament was dissolved.

Newsletters

February 9, 1654.—On Saturday his Highnesse called together f. 18.
all the officers of the Army that could redily bee warned about the town, and it's said there were 200, to whom hee spake in a very large discourse of about two houres; upon the conclusion whereof they gave a plauditory acclamation, and some of them I have spoken with say it gave a generall sattisfaction to them all. There is some uncertainty in the reports and apprehensions about Major Packers being discharged or not from his command, upon the dissatisfaction declared by him, Capt. Gladman, and some other officers of that

regiment; but in regard Major Browne, who had formerly bin Major to the same regiment, was last night with his Highness, and order given to prepare a commission for him, it seemes probable it may bee in Major Packer's place¹ W. R.

Secretary Thurloe to General Monck

f. 20. *February* 12, 1657.—Honourable Sir,

His Highnesse hath bin imployed this weeke in the settling of some of his Regiments heere, and particularly of his owne Regiment commanded by Major Packer, who having had some discourse with his Highnesse the last weeke expressed much dissatisfaction as to the present affaires, and said all his Captaines were of the same minde, and that they had rather gone before him therein then that he had led them into it; wherupon his Highness sent for the Major and five Captaines, and discoursed with them at large, who all declared their dislike of the present Government, and made severall obiections to it, and semed to speake of the goodness of a Comonwealth. His Highnesse tooke much paines with them to satisfie their scruples, and gave them tyme to thinke upon what he had said to them; and after three or four dayes consideration, he sent for them againe, and spake with them in the presence of above twenty officers, and wished them to propound the grounds and reasons of their dissatisfaction in the presence of their fellow officers, but Major Packer said that they had already propounded them, and had considered of what his Highness had said to them, but that their dissatisfactions did still remaine with them; which is all the answer they would give at that tyme, and at two other tymes after wherin his Highness laboured to satisfie them, save that they all said that they were willing still to continue in the army, and follow his Highness upon the grounds of the old cause, but would not expresse what they meant by the old cause. After four or five tymes discourse in this manner, his Highness being utterly unsatisfied with their answers, dismiss them all from their

¹ See Thurloe, vi. 786, 789, 793, 806.

commands, vizt. Major Packer, Captain Gladman, Captain Malyn, Captain Barrington, Captain Spinage, and Captain Leut. Hunter; these are all Anabaptists.

J. THURLOE.

February 13, 165 $\frac{1}{2}$.—Commissarie Generall Whalley hath bin for some time made Lt-Generall of the Horse.¹ Sir Gilbert Pickering hath his staff and key delivered to him to be Lord Chamberlaine. . . . Its expected that all the chiefe officers should declare them selves, and in pursuance thereof Col. Cobbett, Col. Mitchell, and Col. Talbot have declared to continue their faithfull service to his Highness, being satisfied with what hath beene done.² . . . Here's a general report of calling another Parliament in six months, but no order is yet passed for the purpose. A month's pay is now issuing for the army, and 6 weekes more within this fortnight. His Highnesse great care of the army doth much indulge both officers and soldiers.

G. M.

February 18, 165 $\frac{1}{2}$.—The tenn phesitians present at the opening the corps of Mr. Rich unanimously agree that he died of the disease commonly called the King's evil, his lungs being all knotted therewith; his body is removed to Warwick House, his grandfather the Earle of Warwick taking order for the solemnity of his funerall. One of his Highness neeces dyed also the same night, viz. Mrs. Levina Whetstone, Major Beakes lady.³ Wee heare of noe new officers yet settled in the roome of those who are displaced.

W. R.

February 23, 165 $\frac{1}{2}$.—His Highnesse hath att sea of all sorts of shippes in service about 146. The Kinge of France intends to

¹ It had been reported that Disbrowe was to have this post: Thurloe, vi. 790.

² See Thurloe, vi. 806.

³ Richard Beke of Haddenham, Bucks, married February 7, 1655, Levina Whetstone (or Whitstone) daughter of Roger Whetstone, of Whittlesea in the Isle of Ely, by Catherine daughter of Robert Cromwell. Vide *Some particulars relative to Col. Richard Beke*, by C. T. Beke, 1852.

march with an army of 50,000 to the election of the Emperour. His Highness consults dayly about raising of money, but I cannot heare of a word mooved for another Parliament, and when a Parliament shall be called, I conceive their will not be any representative of Ireland or Scotland. All things both in cittie and country are quiet, and I hope the Lord will finde a way to his Highness for raysing of money without giving offence to those that love not to live in troubled waters. A Gentleman who had served in forraigne warrs, presented his service to his Highnesse to serve him in Flaunders, and of his owne accord told his Highness, that for killing a man in a quarrell three yeares agoe he fled out of England, for which he is sent to prison to be tryed, and now cryes out of his folly for betraying himselfe. H. W.

- f. 40 *March 2, 1657.*—The Lord Rich his corps (since there removall from Whitehall) are set up in great state at Warwick House. His Highness mourned three daies in purple (as is used by persons of his quality). The rest of the family is in close mourning for his Lordship. The Members of the late House of Lords are put in Commissions of the Peace under the title of Barrons, and this done by the consultacion and advice of the Judges. Colonel Beaumont hath a patent under Seal for making him a Barron. The Members of the next Parliament are to be called according to the antient lawes of the nation and the Peticion and Advice, in that the Instrument of governement is laid aside; its said that the writts for their call will be issued the next week, but no order is yet past the Councill for that purpose, though much debate hath been had thereupon.¹ . . . G. M.

¹ Compare the newsletter of May 29. This shows that the plan adopted in calling the Parliament of January 1659 had been long under discussion. The calling of a new Parliament was proposed almost at once after the dissolution of February 1658. See Thurloe, vi. 820, 840. A letter of advice as to the calling of a new Parliament, addressed to the Protector by some unknown person about this time, is amongst Thurloe's papers, *Rawlinson MS.*, A. lix. 77 :

'It is conceived to be the opinion of most of the good people of the nation of all

Westminster, March 20, 1653.— . . Since the Lord Maior and f. 57.
Common Councill's addresse and declaracion to his Highnesse (to
oppose all his enemies and the nations, and faithfully to obey his
gouvernement in the preservation of religion, the lawes, liberties,
and peace of the people¹), they have proceeded in the forming of
their Militia, adding another regiment thereunto. Itt is intrusted
in the former commissioners hands onely some few added therunto.²
The Hamletts of the Tower are doing the like with their regiments,
and each regiment of the armie heere are recruiting to 1200 each,
butt the supernumeraries conceiv'd for the service of Sweden. A
considerable fleete is likewise preparing, and will bee out suddenly,
soe that wee shall bee in a good condition of defence. . . .

G. M.

March 25, 1658.—Wednesday all the generall and feild officers f. 64
about the head quarters met together in Whitehall, where amongst
others there were present the Lord Fleetwood, Lord Disbrow,
Lieutenant Generall Whalley, Major Generall Goffe, Collonel
Cowper, Colonel Bridge, Colonel Kelsey, Colonel Cobbet, Colonel
Sadler, and many others. My Lord Fleetwood made a short

judgments, as to the Legislative power. That there being soe much worke for it to
doe as there is, and the body of a Parlaiment (after the old way) moveth soe
slowlie (though unanimous), that now when it wilbe much divided (which canot
but be expected upon a promiscuous election) it wilbe impossible to be done by it.

'They seeme therfore much to desire a lesser body, or Councell somewhat lyke
to it, of moderate and peaceable men as neere of one mynd as may be.

'But if it be by Parlaiment in the former way. It is conceived to be much to
advantage to call it out of course, and speedilie. And not to stay till the 3^d yere.
1. For then if not liked it may be dissolved at the end of 3 moneths. 2. It is con-
ceived soe, it may be called to speciall purposes, and that then they are not to
medle with any thinge els. 3. The elections now by the care of the Sheriffes and
helpe of the Maiors generall wilbe looked to. 4. If any get in unfit, the councill
may put him out by the words of the Government.

'[Endorsed.]—Some considerations about a Parliamēt deliverd to the Lord
Prot.'

¹ See *Mercurius Politicus*, March 11–18, for Cromwell's speech to the City (on
March 12); it is reprinted in *Cromwelliana*, p. 171. See also Thurloe, vii. 3.

² *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1657–58, p. 330.

speech to us, shewing how necessary a thing it was for the army to unite themselves, and much to the purpose of the inclosed addresse, and then produced the originall of which the inclosed is a copy, and haveing read it twice left it to every one to speake his thoughts to it, and as many as pleased to signe it. There was not a man made the least objection against it, but all as one man signed it. Colonel Sadler for the officers in Ireland declared that he knew they would be most willing to signe it, and Collonel Cobbett for Scotland declared what some regiments had already done, and that the rest would doe the like. All haveing signed, Major Swallow and myselfe were appointed to attend in the same place this day, to receive the subscriptions of al such officers as should come, and be willing to signe the same. Wee were no sooner dismissed but within one lower orders went forth for all the Collonells to attend his Highnesse this morneing, who accordingly did, besides many other inferiour officers. What the issue of that was, I shall this night I hope be informed, and give your Lordship an accompt thereof. This day forenoon Major Swallow and I gave our attendance, and there repaired to us so many officers who cheerefully signed the same as made up the number of officers who signed the same (together with those who signed yesterday) 224. I am by the officers informed that scarce an officer neare the head quarters were absent. Tomorrow in the forenoon the Captains and all other officers, none under the degree of Captain, are again to meet, and the addresse is to be delivered to his Highnesse, and all the officers to attend it. There has bin a generall search in all parts about this towne, which began at 12 howers in the night, as well in private as in other houses, for all such persons as staid in towne contrary to his Highnesse' proclamation, many were taken prisoners, but I heare not of any considerable person. Our forces at Mardike are in a good condition, and about 4000 in number; its beleived his Highnesse intends this Spring to send about 3000 more. Sir William Waller [and] Colonel Russell, brother to the Earle of Bedford, are sent to

the Tower, and just now I heare that the Earle of Cleaveland also is sent thither. I have such grounds that I beleive a Parliament is approaching.

H. W.¹

March 27, 1658.—Munday last Sir William Waller[and] Majour f. 69. Harlow (late Majour to Majour Generall Massie) were sent for to attend his Highnes, the former is discharged, the latter comitted to the Tower upon suspition of treason. The now Lord Maior and Alderman Ireton that day received the honour of Knighthood. Wedensday night the cittie and suburbs and 4 miles round were searcht for the Royall party; such as were found stand yet comitted, and none are discharged without order of the Councell. Thursday last pattents were granted for making the Attorney Generall and Soliciter Generall Barronetts. A declaration to be signed by all the officers of the army in England (to stand by and opose all the enimies of his Highnesse in the preservation of religion, rights and liberties, and peace of the nations) is agreed upon, and signed by most of the officers here present. The regiment of the Lord Richard Cromwell being to march are to be provided with back, brest, and pott, out of the stores. Two companies raised by Majour Jenkins and Captaine Harrison, for the defence of the garrison of Hartlepoole, are ordered to be putt into the Establishment.

Monday at 9 of the clocke the Councell are summond to attend about a businesse of high concernment which is not yet knowne to any.

G. M.

April 3, 1658.—The Privie Councill of his Highnesse, and f. 75. another Councell of the army have been this weeke in debate of great business of calling a Parliament (which it's thought will sitt in May next), and likewise of a more future and more absolute settlement, then the Petition and Advice doth hold forth.² His

¹ This letter was probably written by Henry Whalley. In *Mercurius Politicus*, under March 27, there is an address from the officers of the army to Cromwell. Whalley is the only one of the signatories whose initials are H: W.

² See Thurloe, vii. 38, 99, 153.

Higness, upon the receiving some late intelligence from Ostend, hath spent much tyme in a private debate with the Majour Generalls to the further security of the nations. 20^s per diem is added to the pay of Lieutenant Generall Whalley, and as much to the pay of Majour Generall Goffe. Mr. Can and Cornet Day, continueing to preach scandalously against his Highness, are comitted to the Counter.¹ Mr. Feake stands comitted to the Tower for the like offence. Munday next the Councell of officers meets againe upon the great business; it's thought it will be perfected the next weeke. 200^{li} a peece is order'd to the 3 daughters of late Colonel White, and provision made for the wives and children of all those officers cast away with him. G. M.

April 6, 1658.—The first instant about 10 att night Major Generall Morgan drew out 400 souldiers, and 50 horse, and 2 brasse guns, and marcht towards Gravelin, where they joined with 400 of Bourburgh forces, and fell upon two forts of the enemies; all the souldiers yeelding themselves prisoners hee blew uppe the forts with powder: itt was considerable by reason that these fortifications were raised to secure the sluices, which are now most of them demolished. W. C.

- f. 79. *April 10, 1658.*—This weeke itt was expected that the Councill of officers would have mett to consider of the great businesse, butt did nott. Itt's conceived that the late information of the enemies intentions to make an attempt to land forces here (whereupon the active persons of the Royall party are in most parts secured) hath been the maine obstruccion, and the rather for that his Highnesse hath spent much time in private debate with the Major Generalls concerning the safety of the people against such intended invasions. In pursuance whereof his Highnesse hath published a proclamacion

¹ See *A Narrative wherein is faithfully set forth the sufferings of John Canne Wentworth Day, etc.*, London, 1658. They were arrested April 1, 1658. Day had once been a cornet in Harrison's regiment of horse.

against horse races for 8 moneths from the 9th instant. The enimie nere Gravelin intended by a sluice to drowne the partes about Bourburgh, but Generall Morgan drew out 1200 men, and tooke the 2 workes upon quarter for defence thereof. The Councell have ordered the arreares of Lieutenant Generall Brayne to be paid to his father. 200^{li} for the repaires of Carlisle. The Lord Howard's regiment to be made up 1000. The officers of Colonel Gibbon's foote regiment to receive equall pay with those of the standing army.

April 20, 1658.—I suppose you have had a better account of f. 82. the late plott, whereupon so many prisoners have been and are still secured, than I can give you, but I shall informe as I understand. Charles Stuart intending to land forces in England, plotted with his old and new sprung up Cavaliers, such as young Gentlemen lately come to their lands and estates, to procure what guarrisons they could to be betrayed into his handes at a fit opportunity. Hull and Portsmouth were tampered withall. Sir Henry Slingsby tampered for Hull to be betrayed, promising large summes of money; who for Portsmouth I cannot learne; when C[harles] Stuart should land his forces London was to be put into an uproare, and then in all parts in England the Cavaliers were to rise. In order to this severall commissions were sent by Charles Stuart to severall persons, and they intrusted with many blanch commissions, some of which commissions his Highnesse hath. One Dr. Hewet, Minister of Gregories by Paules, (at whose house as is said the Lord Ormond, when he was lately in London, did obscure himselfe), was a principall agent, and is in safe custody. Young Stapley, sonne to Colonel Stapley of [Sussex], had severall comissions, which his Highnesse hath. The High Court of Justice is speedily to sit, who doubtlesse will make example of some of these. The Lord of Warwick is lately dead, and so also Sir Thomas Vyner Alderman of London, a very honest Gentleman, and good freind to his Highnesse and government. The talke of

a Parliament is not so much as formerly, but I am apt to beleive it is by reason of these new discovered plots. In all these thinges the Lord appeares mightily for us and to owne his Highnesse.

H. W.

Lieut.-Col. Hughes to General Monck

f. 86b *Mardyke, May 7, 1658, O[ld] style.*—Marshall D'Amont had order sent him to Bulloigne to shippe out of his quarters 1300 men, and to land att Mardyke, which hee did accordingly, and tooke the gouvernement uppon him, untill 3 citizens of Ostend brought him directions to reshipp his men, and an order to bee guided and directed by them in what they should imploy him; whereupon hee with the Intendent Talon very confidentley shipp't themselves and souldiers for Ostend. The townsmen repairing to towne our returning aboard our ships with the town Major [*sic*] and assured them the towne should bee delivered into their hands. Some French and manie English went asshoare, and were kindley entertained (the Spaniards being gone out of the towne); and some enquiring who they were for, answer was made for the King of France, the townesmen replied they were alsoe for him, and advised them to bee readey to enter the towne when they should sett up a red flag and fire two peeces of ordnances, which they performed on Tuesday last. Their gunnes being fired and our's replying, the Marshall with the Intendant, [and] most of the officers with the King's and Cardinall's Musquetiers, made towards the towne (where they mett with severall pilotts to conduct them in) in a frigott of their owne with 4 gunns, and entered the towne, and assoone as they were in the watergates were shut, yet many were landed on the Key. Then the towne began to play their ordnance full of case shott at such as were on the Key, and destroyed most of them, and sunck two vessells that were come to the Harbour; the remainder seeing their freinds betray'd faced about, and came hither yesterday to the number of 700, the rest being all killed and taken. The Marshall and his Cavaliers after a small volley given, yeelded themselves prisoners

where they are at present. It seemes that the same signe that was for our coming in, was likewise for the Spaniards, who had a body of foot with 700 horse ready at the townes end. It's reported they brought Marshall D'Aumont to the top of a mount to see his followers massacred. Our shipping lost all their boates, and above 100 seamen as is reported, and thus this great designe ended tragically, the French being so confident of the businesse that they had not as much as an hostage with them.¹ My Lord Lockhart landed here last night, and is to stay for some time. Wee have received above 2000 recrutes, and dayly expect the comeing downe of the army to the number of 20,000 ; our hopes are they will be for Dunkirke, our soldiers being very ready for that worke.

RICH : HUGHES.

Secretary Thurloe to General Monck

May 12, 1658.—Wee have now received the confirmation and £. 90. particulars of Marshall D'Aumont's losse att Ostend, (a copy wherof you will heerwith receive).² Itt seemes to bee a very strange mistake of the French, and which soe great a souldier as hee could scarce fall into. The same persons who have cozen'd him offer'd the same designe to H[is] H[ighness] 9 monthes since, butt 'twas rejected heere as ridiculous, and this wee could have inform'd the French, if they had pleased to have communicated itt to us ; butt they manag'd itt soe privately that none butt their enemies knew of their intentions as itt seemes.

J. T.

¹ See *A Relation of the Defeating of Cardinal Mazarine's and Oliver Cromwell's Design to have taken Ostend by Treachery in the Year 1658*, written in the Spanish by a person of quality, and now translated, 12mo. 1666. Also Bourelly's *Cromwell et Mazarin*, 1886, pp. 122-135. Thurloe, vii. 113, 115.

² *An account of the plott, and counterplott of the late transaction att Ostend* : 'For the worke on the French-side the plott was (as they say) laid thus, they had made for themselves two of the Burgomasters,' etc., as in the print. See *Mercurius Politicus*, May 6-13, 1658, p. 525. The narrative promised by Thurloe is not transcribed in the *Clarke MSS.*, with the exception of the first line or two.

Lieut.-Col. Hughes to General Monck

f. 95b. I have presumed in my last to give you an accompt of the tragedy att Ostend, and the hopes wee had of the besieging of Dunkirke, which was yesterday performed by Marshall Turene, who came through Flanders unexpected with 11000 men, and gained the passe without opposition; and wee on this side drew out 6000 foote and 1200 horse, and forced our passage over two rivers, and joyned with him, soe that wee are now hard at woork to finish our line of circumvalacion. Thurain's van-guard fell into the Duke of Glocester's and Ormonds' quarters at Mountcastle, and spoyled some 5 or six hundred Irish foote, their horse gitting away. The King and Cardinall will bee at Mardicke this night to see the busines vigorously followed. Majour G. Morgan came here last night, and this day arrived a messenger with directions (as I heare) for my Lord Lockhart to command our forces for the present.¹

R. H.

Newsletters

May 15, 1658.—The lunacy of famous Dr. Channell² is much lamented by all that know him. The two capps of crimson and purple velvet, worne onely by princes, and now making up by order of the M^r of the Wardrobe, make the people talke largely of Kingship. All the horse, great gunns, and force are just now drawne into the City; what the reason is we know not yet, but feare that blood will be spilt this night.

G. M.

May 18, 1658.—The Militia of the City and all the forces of the army in or neere London were ordered to be in armes last Saturday, to prevent a rising from the Cavalier party intended to have been made that night, but about 40 of them were taken, and

¹ This letter is undated, but from the account of the opening of the siege of Dunkirk, and from its position in the letter-book, was evidently written about May 15. See Bourelly, p. 145.

² Francis Cheynell, died 1665.

all diligence is used to discover and secure more of them for the safety of the people. Fryday next will be a generall rendezvous for the Militia of London. . . . Five hundred men of Coll. Salmon's regiment and 500 of Coll. Gibbon's to be transported to-morrow into Flanders, and to be received into the said regiments againe upon their returne.

G. M.

May 25, 1658.—The Judges of the Courts in Westminster who are also Commissioners in the High Court named, doe not sitt, they being of opinion that by the Act and meaning of it (as it is said) they conceive the prisoners ought to be tried by a jury, but those thirty who satt there to-day are of another opinion.

J. R.

May 29, 1659.—The slow pac't newes is, that a Parliament will f. 97. bee of 400 English men, for by the Petition and Advice Irish and Scotts are out, till by an act they be again restored, as some tell me; and when it doth come I doe not diserne that good which is usually hoped for by a Parliament, whether it be that more is expected from them and sooner then the wisdom and gravitie of a Parliament will admitt of, or that they will be stiffe on their partes not to give monys till greivances be redressed first, and libertie and proprietie settled, to secure which England hath been watered in all corners with the blood of the people. If God intends good to us wisdom and moderation will be seene, otherwise another breach of Parliament will ensue, (and all breaches are deepe wounds), and confusion will follow.

J. R.

Lieut.-Col. Hughes to General Monck

June 2, 1658.—Heere hath hapned nothing of consequence f. 99b. since our breaking of ground, only that the Kinge and Cardinall are removed to Cales, where the Lord Falconbridge is come as Extraordinary Ambassadour, accompanied by my Lord Howard and severall persons of quality. Our approaches goes on a pace; the English souldiers, behaving themselves very handsome, have gained

a generall applause from all the Grandees of the army ; the French horse who formerly hated us are become very loving and civill, and had rather engage with us then with their owne foote. The enimie hath made some six sallies, and were well oposed by the horse and our foote. In the last severall of the French foote quitt their trenches. Their are 5 companys of Colonel Salmons and five of Colonel Gibbons come over, and doe the duty of a regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Pepper commanding them. We have this night gained their stockadoes, and lodged ourselves at the point of their counterscarfe. We seldome come of our English approach without losse, 50 or 60 wounded and severall slaine every night. Colonel Clarke is shott, severall captains killed and wounded ; our battrys of some 14 gunns doe much anoy the towne. Our freinds in England have beene very careless of us ; the 1000 tents ordered us by the Councell 5 weekes agoe are not yet come, which causes a great sickness amongst us, having not one peece of wood within six mile of us to hutt with ; all our mortar peeces and shells have beene here this three weekes, but the fire master is still in England. Don John, Prince of Condi, Charles Stuart and his brothers, are within a league and a halfe of our campe with 16000 men (on Newport side), and intend to releive the towne ; but I trust they may be mistaken, our sea shores being well stockaded and chained, and our line indifferently mann'd, the army consisting of 25000 horse and foote, ten thousand being horse. The Count of Grand Pree is expected here this day with 3000 horse. The English and French approaches are this morning joyned by a line of communication. We send every night to our approach 14 companies, and keepe above a third of the line, having but 2000 horse to assist us, but they are the most carefull and vigilant men that ever I knew, and endure shott very well, defying all danger whatsoever, my Lord Lockhart is our Genrall. Its supposed that the enimie in the towne have 1200 foote and 400 horse, besides townesmen, who trouble us very much with their ordinance.

R. H.

The last night I was in the approaches I had two Captains kill'd, my owne Ensigne and Serjant also, and two of my corporalls dangerously wounded.¹ Captain Coates of our regiment was this day shott, his Lieutenant and Ensigne two dayes agoe.²

Newsletter

June 5.—Mr. Mordant had 19 voices for him, and as many f. 99. against him, and the Lord President's voice saved his life. Att their first sitting that day Doctor Huett's lady presented a petition, which all night uppon her knees shee had bin begging her husband to signe, the substance was that hee might have liberty to plead, butt itt was denied because their title and his style therin was nott according to expectacion, and for that his contumely [he] was entred [as] having denyed to plead uppon 12 severall admonitions of the Court. Yesterday Doctor Huett petitioned his Highnesse for 20 dayes repreive, and if in that time hee confest nott matter to meritt his life then to bee executed, butt is repreived only for 2 dayes. A young whale about 50 foote longe was kill'd on Wednesday last neere Greenwich, many porpusses being seene to rise that day above bridge.³ Itt is observed by many heere that a whale was taken in the same river a little before the breaking out of the last great plague. Sir Henry Slingsby is repreived. The Lord Falconbridge is this day arrived from France. G. M.

Colonel Drummond to General Monck

My Lord,—According to my owne engagement and my duty f. 104b. to your Lordshippe, I begin to acquitt my self of a parte of what lyeth on mee with an account of our affaires heere, that our line being ended, and our approaches advanced to the ffosse, the enemy

¹ Cf. Thurloe, vii. 126, where Lockhart's letter should probably be dated May 28, o.s.

² Capt. William Cotes of Sir Brice Cochrane's; 'shot' means wounded, not killed.

³ This was one of the portents supposed to refer to Cromwell's death. Compare Dryden's lines :

' But first the ocean as a tribute sent
The giant prince of all her watery herd.'

resolved to relevee of the seidge; and upon consideracion of the weaknes of our lyne by reason of the sandie ground and of the vastnesse of it, it was thought most secure to give them batle, which was done yesterday being Friday the $\frac{5}{18}$ of June.¹ Marshall de Turaine comanded our right wing, having some six thousand horse and two thousand foote of France; in the body and reserve wee had six or seaven thousand French and Switzes foote, and a thousand horse placed in some intervalles. The left wing was commanded by my Lord Embassadour Lockhart, having some five thousand English foote and two thousand horse in his first and second lynes; however hee resolved to charge upon the head of his owne regiment, whose carriage was such as I know that neither French nor English Diurnalls will let passe in silence, but without vanitie that regiment has done what I have never seene done before, for they charged and beate a Spanish regiment of a hill more steepe then any ascent of a breach that I have seene. Fenwick,² the Generall's Lieutenant Collonel, is wounded very dangerously; two captains kill'd; one Captain Johns³ that comanded the horse at Jamaica wounded and taken prisoner by the enemy by engaging two farre. Next Collonel Lilliston's had the hardest pull, where there are thirtie or forty kill'd; after that Collonel Alsop's. The other fowre regiments had noe losse almost at all. The Englishes have such reputacion in this army that nothing can bee more. The enemy was thus disposed. The Prince of Condee with five thousand horse was the left wing of the enemy against Marshall de Turaine, and comanded over him by Proutville and Colingie Lieutenant Generall. Against our bodie was two thousand horse and two thousand foote comanded by the Ducke of Yorke, who was accompanied by his yonger brother, and where amongst other there was a Scotch regiment caled Midleton's, comanded by Horrie, and the English comanded by Collonel Blake,

¹ Should be $\frac{4}{18}$.

² Lieut.-Col. Roger Fenwick died of his wounds. Thurloe, vii. 156, 174, 215.

³ Captain Henry Jones. Thurloe, vii. 156.

and one composed of English, Scotch, and Irish, comanded by Musgarie¹ (an Irish Lord which was as Lieutenant Collonel to the forsaid pretended Ducke), whereof the most part are in our hands except the forenamed persons, and who are all sent prisoners to France, except some few that have bin in our service before. Wee had for enemies upon our wing Don John of Austria with three thousand horse, and the Marques of Carracen with 3000 owld Spanish foote drawne out of the garisons. Our wing, being some two miles distant from the other, charged first, and soe fell in betwixt our right wing (or rather the enemies left wing) and the towne of Ferne that was their retreat, so that if the horse of our wing had persued soe vigorously as wee expected, the enemies left wing and the Prince had bin ours; but soe it was that most part of all their horse did escape, but the foot, who was but some five thousand, are all gone, whereof wee have about two thousand prisoner, but of officers of horse and foote wee have eight hundred. All those that are of the owld Spanish regiments of Flanders the King of France has taken them to put in prison in France; they would all willingly give their ransome, but the King has ordered his Comisaries that are heere to pay their ransoms to those that toke them, but hee will not part with them; and the reason is that the King of Spaine has not any Spanish now in Flanders that know the way of warre in Flanders now, [or] that have any reputacion of the country for making new leaveis, and that hee will hardley bee induced to trust the Nobillitie of the country with milletary commands. The Marques of Caraceene was once prisoner with us, but one of the French souldiers is gone with him after divers of our generall persons had spoke with him. Since that time at our returne to the campe wee toke a fort called Fort Lyon upon Mardicke side of the towne, where the Marques of Castlens,² Lieutenant Generall to the horse and foote, is shott throw the body, and is curing now with small hopes of life. The prisoners tell us that before the army of the enemy tooke their resolucions

¹ *I.e.* Muskerry.² Castelnau.

to endeavour the releife of Dunkirke, that they had a Councell of warre or state at Ipre, where there was Charles Stuart and his brothers, Don John, Conde, and Caracene, and two of Lords States of Holland who sate with them. They did expect that the States was to have been with them by sea, but that this they think will stumble them, and it is somewhat probable, in so much that H[is] H[ighness] sent my Lord Montague thither yesternight with a recruit of shippes. Wee expect now shortly to have the towne, but that the Governor is more [stubborn] now than ever, that he may gaine time to his Master to recruit his armie, which occasions likewise our diligence. Having been with Marshall Tureine just now from my Lord Ambassadour, hee told mee that the King and Cardinall was to be here againe shortly. My Lord, this is all at present from,

Your Lordship's most oblieged and

humble servant

JO: DRUMMOND.

Campe before
Dunkirke, June $\frac{5}{15}$
1658.

Major Generall Morgan behaved himself gallantly in this action, and when the Marshall Turene's wing of 16000 were worsted by the enemy, came uppe [at] a trot faster then the French gallopp, and defeated the enemy.

Lieut-Col. Hughes to General Monck

f. 102b. *June* $\frac{6}{16}$, 1659.—May itt please your Lordshippe,

Had I nott bin kept 48 houres in the trenches I would have yesterday given your Lordshipp an accompt of God's great mercyes to us on Fryday the 14 instant, which was the day of battell. Don John, Condi, Yorke, Gloster, with other Grandees, drew neer our line on Thursday night with some 18000 horse and foote, and Thurin sent to us for 3 battalions or halfe regiments, but before we were ready orders came for all our 7 regiments to march except

14 companies, which were to storme the counterscarfe (who have been repulsed). Our bodie being come to Thurin (which was 7 miles march) were ordered for the left winge of the armie, and horse appointed for our wings. In this posture we marcht halfe a mile where the Spanish army was drawne up in battle aray; the Spaniards themselves led by Don John were on the right winge, drawne on a great hill naturally fortified; the Scotts and English were next them; Flemish, Walloones, and French on the left. Our whole army mooving made a stand within halfe a musquet shot of them on another hill without any firing, where they were ordered not to stirr untill such tyme as the enimie had quitted the great steepe hill, but our men could not be kept in without ingageing, went into the valley without orders given (yea, contrary to orders), and on hands and knees kept up the hill, and gave the enimies foote two good volleys, and with our pikes forced them to retreate. On which Don John with his horse gave the Generall's regiment and Colonel Lillingston's a violent charge, that they were forced to give ground a little confusedly, but soone rallied, and forced Don John to retreate with the losse of his foote and many of his horse; the French horse appointed for our wings standing still without giving the least assistance till they saw the enimie rooted, having no stomack to fight. The Duke of Yorke[s] English, and Middleton's Scotch, [and] Ormond's Irish were soone beaten, the English only fighting; the Scotts and Irish, as our regiment and Colonel Alsop's were coming up to them, vail'd their collours, and made shew of yeilding, but ours judging it a defyaunce as they had done before we mooved, gave fire at them, but it was very reall, for they had laid downe there armes, and cryed for quarter, and on our fireinge they struggled a litle, and were soone quelled, all beinge killed and taken: amongst whom it is reported my Lord Musgrave was slayne, and severall English Gentleman. Such as wee mett of our runawayes were knock't in the head,¹ and such as wee mett amongst the French wee forced from them, and intend

¹ Thurloe, vii. 170.

to doe justice on them. Martiall D' Hoquincourt is slayne, fower Lieutenant Generalls prisoners. All there foote beinge neere 5000 are killed and taken. York's horse was killed, and Charles is left without 20 men to invade England of his owne. Had Thurin's horse done anie service at all, the whole armie would have beene kill'd and taken, havinge three mile of good ground to persue them, the enemy beinge in a greate confusion, but the French horse would persue not one step further then our foote went. And thus through God's greate goodnes wee have beene instrumentall and the reall actors of gaineinge this seasnable victory, which I trust wee shall make good use of. Had wee not ingaged the French would have beene soundly banged, and the towne relieved, which the Spaniards were confident of. And indeede the French have this 10 dayes left all the worke and hard attempts in a manner to us, whether it bee to breake and destroy us, or otherwise I know not, but wee are resolved to attempt all hazards and difficulties, and to bee there slaves untill this towne bee taken. Wee have six times stormed the counterscarps, and alwayes beaten of with greate losse of our officers and souldiers. Wee lost at the batle fower captains, four lieutenants, and not 50 men; one collonell, one majour wounded, with most of the officers. Wee have two captains, six lieutenants, twelve serjeants of our regiment wounded desperately in the batle and aproaches. Litle Captain Sherwin with his lieutenant and ensigne were slayne in the field. Wee have 500 recruits come this day, and within 12 howres we expect the remainder of Collonel Salmon's and Gibbon's regiments heere, beinge already shipt. Wee are to alarme the towne on all sides this night to divert there forces from our aproaches. I beg your Lordships excuse for this broken attempt, and that the Lord of heaven may blesse and preserve your Lordship and family shalbee the earnest prayers of,

RICH: HUGHES.

From the Leaguer before Dunkirke, 16 June, St. Nov., 1658.

Our tents are just now come, and Mr. Kent for a firemaster.

Lieut.-Col. Hughes to General Monck

June 14, 1658.—About 12 att noone yesterday the King and Cardinall came to Mardyke, att which time a battery of this side and one morter-peece began to play on the other side. Wee were wholly masters of the counterscarpe, and had drained the moate of the Grand Bastion, so that by this morneing wee would have possed it, had they not prevented us by a treaty for rendition. There came out of towne a Gentleman with 2 attendants, who is with the King as hostage, and Thureine is to grant them what termes befitts them, so that in few dayes this may become an English towne.¹ What the termes will be I shall advertise your Honour of when concluded. Colonel Drummond on Saturday night attempting (with some reformadoes) to possesse a traverse on this side the water, was dangerously wounded,² and so was most of his followers. The Spanish army are marcht towards Picardy to releive Rocroy which is besieged by La Ferte, and its judg'd this great body will attend their motion.

R. HUGHES.

From the Leagure 24 June
1658. S. N.

The enimie are to march bag and baggage to St. Omer, and to carry 2 peices of cannon with them. The Marques de Leda, who was Governor, dyed 7 dayes agoe by reason of a shott hee received since this seige.

R. H.

Newsletter

June 24, 1658.—The towne of Bergen and the fort of Bergen are now in the French hands by the blessing of God upon our armies, for it was the English that reduced them both to termes; and now whilest part of the French army under Marshall de la Ferte lyes before Rocroy, Marshall Thureine himselfe with Major

¹ See Thurloe, vii. 172; Bourelly, pp. 229, 231.

² Drummond died of his wounds. Thurloe, vii. 174, 208, 216.

General Morgan are goeing to besiege Fearne.¹ I doe not yet heare that Mardyke is in our hands, but I doubt not but it will, because I am informed it is within our capitulations. If the two before-mentioned places be obtained, the next designe is supposed to be upon St. Omers, which is a very strong place, and a great inlett into Flanders; it was vigorously attempted in the yeare 1638 by a great army French under the command of the old Marisshall Chatillion, but Piccolomini then relieved it. I hope your Lordshippe hath before this received the commission for the councell,² &c.

T. C[LARGES].

Major General Morgan to General Monck

Dunkirk, July 27-Aug. 7.—Marshall Laffert with his army hath closely beseiged Gravelyn; tomorrow he intends to open his trenches, and to beginn to carry on his approaches. Marshall Tureine with his army, and his Highnes' 4 regiments with mee in the field, lye still encamped nigh Newport, from which place Marques De Carascene and the titular D[uke] of York marched privately two daies since. Don John and the P[rince] of Conde have been laboring very hard to raise new forces to man their garrisons, intending to draw forth all their old foot to strengthen their army, which its credibly thought are now drawing to a head; whether to releive Graveline, or to attacque Marshall Tureine's army is not yet known. Blessed be God our armyes are in a good condicion, and very cheerfull. At the late engagement with the enemy his Highnes' forces gayned much honour to themselves and countrey in the sight of many nations.

THO: MORGAN.³

¹ Bergen, *i.e.* Bergues, capitulated July 1 (new style), and Furnes on July 3. Bourelly, p. 245. See also Thurloe, vii. 191, 200. A newsletter amongst the *Clarke MSS.*, written in July, says: 'Lt.-Col. Hughes is dead of his wounds received at Bergen; he was buried 15 July.'

² See Thurloe, vii. 203.

³ For other letters of Morgan's during this campaign, see Thurloe, vii. 200, 217, 223, 258.

Extracts from Newsletters

Aug. 14, 1658.—Tuesday last the Lady Claypoole was brought from Hampton to Westminster, and there interred in Henry the 7ths chappell. H. H. hath bin lately visited with a fit of sicknesse, so that about three dayes agoe wee had some doubts of his recovery, the greatnesse of his distemper of the goute and other distempers, with the sorrow for the death of his daughter, having deepe impression uppon him; butt now hee is pretty well recovered, and uppon the consideration of his mortality will speedily resolve of something of settlement.

Aug. 17, 1658.—His Highnesse is well recovered of a great distemper too much like that in Cannogate.

Aug. 28.—Tuesday last his Highnesse returned from Hampton Court to Whitehall with a resolution speedily to nominate his successor, the temperate condition of his health ebbs and flows, his repose being obstructed with intervalls of restlesse paine. The Lord Richard Cromwell ('tis said) is appointed Generalissimo of all the forces of the nations.

Sept. 2.—His Highness hath had a very good rest the last night and the night before, and a sore throat he had hath left him, and the sharpness of his fitts are abated, so that their is good hopes of his recovery, except some unexpected accident happen. His health was never more necessary then at this tyme that affaires are so unsettled.

T. C.

Newsletters

London, September 4, 1658.—Pardon my trembling quill ready t. 154. to stoppe att the first line, as dreading to bee the unwelcome messenger of soe fatall newes, butt that affectionate duty promptes mee to mourne in the blackest characters: yesterday the 3^d of September Death overcame his Highnesse (who overcame thousands uppon that day of the month in the yeares 1650 and 1651), who about three of the clock in the afternoone departed this life at

Whitehall. There was some concourse of people thither, butt nott many, nor noe tumults. The Councill mett, and open'd the writing the Lord Protector had sealed uppe, which did declare that the Lord Richard should succcede as Protector. Theruppon the Councill sent the Lord Fleetwood, Lieutenant Generall of the Army, to the Meeting of the Officers of the Army then assembled in Whitehall, who did declare unto them, That his Highnesse had in his lifetime nominated the Lord Richard to succcede him as Protector, and doubted nott butt that they, who had bore soe much honour and respect to his late Highnesse who was a father to the Commonwealth, would now shew their esteeme of his Memory by giving an unanimous concurrence in the proclayming of the Lord Richard to succcede as Lord Protector; to which there seemed a generall consent, and then the Councill sent a certaine number of themselves last night about 8 of the clock unto the citty of London to acquaint them as much, whose concurrence therein appeares by their proclayming of my Lord Richard this day. To us that are heere att this conjuncture of time and hearing the variety of discourses, thinges did looke very cloudily; Chillenden, Spencer, and other Anabaptists spake words very loude, butt that party wanted a head in the Army, soe that I doe nott discerne the least signe of disturbance. A great many of the longe parliament men flocked to Towne, which bred some jealousie, butt the prudentiall party att meetings debated, and concluded that there was noe way to avoide the shedding of bloud imediately butt forthwith to proclaime my Lord Richard, for itt would make our enemies stand amazed abroad to see such unity att home, itt would discountenance facions att home alsoe, and itt's hoped that the Lord Richard will call a parliament whose wisdom may settle thinges more firmly, soe att present all thinges are att quiett in the Citty, every man going abroad about his businesse without interrupcion. Guards of horse and foote went uppe and downe the streetes last night, butt mett with noe opposition. The greatest feare I meete withall is least the Dutch breake out with a great fleete att this time uppon hopes

of our distraccion, butt itt's conceived the setting uppe of my Lord Richard thus peaceable, and the Swede having full command of the Sound, will divert his purposes.

Whitehall, September 6, 1658.—Itt is a mercy worth all good f. 156b.
men's observation to see all men thankfull in this change, except Mr. Feake and such as hee is [cypher], for hee did raile against the good choice which is published Lord Protector, and said if they had brought a Devill out of Whitehall in the shape of a man, they would have made publication for him. This hee said in the pulpitt. [cypher].

Secretary Thurloe to General Monck

The French have given a great defeate to the Spaniards neere f. 157b.
Ypres. The occasion was this.—The Prince of Ligne intended with 4000 horse and foote to releive Ypres, which the French army had strengthened with an intention to lay a close siege thereto; before they putt in their releif the French fought them, and have killed and taken almost their whole body. Sir W^m Lockhart with 250 horse went out to Newport, and brought away 400 cattell.
J. T.

Whitehall 9 Sept.
1658.

This engagement was upon the third of September.¹

Extracts from Newsletters

Itt will nott seeme strange if I tell you, that this last weeke f. 162.
wee have every day bin fill'd with newes out of England,² As that the Lord Lambert was in the head of 4 regiments of horse; That my Lord Fairfax had secured the Isle of Man for himselfe; That his Highness that now is was poysoned, and that the Lord Henry

¹ Alluded to in Marvell's lines on Cromwell's death:

'The last minute his victorious ghost
Gave chase to Ligny on the Belgian coast.'

² Undated, but apparently written about September 17 from the Hague, whither Downing had just been sent as agent.

and yourselfe stood upon your tearmes. And this I thinke newse enough for one weeke, though I thinke if possible this next weeke will not be much behinde it; but notwithstanding all these vaine stories, it is easy to perceiue that their is an astonishment at hart in such as did expect greate changes upon his Highness' death to finde such an unanimity and cheerfulness in the declareing his Highness that now is, and indifferent by standers doe looke upon the enimies of England as now much farther from their ends then ever. . . .

G. D.

- f. 163. *September 18, 1658.*— . . . A generall meeting of all the officers heere was yesterday in the afternoone held att Whitehall, and an addresse unto his Highnesse being prepared the Lord Fleetwood acquainted them with the intent of their meeting, namely to consider of the addresse, which being read unto them they all nnanimately consented and signed the same, and this day betweene 11 and 12 presented itt to his Highnesse, desiring that hee will bee pleased to owne and persist in that cause wherein the Lord hath bin pleased soe manifestly to prosper his late Father against the malice of all publike and private enemies, that turbulent spiritts may bee discountenanc't, and places of trust conferr'd onely on the faithfull Members of the Commonwealth, and the governement to bee settled in one single person and Houses of Parliament, wherunto with much candor, and undoubted reall affection to the governement of the Commonwealth and safety of the people, hee was pleased to give his gracious approbation. . . . The Lord Mountague hath a regiment of horse given him, and tis said the Lord Fleetwood will suddainely bee appointed Generallissimo of all the forces.

G. M.

- f. 173. *Oct. 2, 1658.*—Thursday last Judge Windham and Judge Nicholas (Judges of the last Western circuit), were questioned before the Councell, for seditiously declaringe in some of there charges that unlesse ministers would administer the Sacrament the

people were not bound to pay them tythes, which words tend to the subversion of one of the heads of the late Adresse to his Highnesse, whereupon they are both put out of commission.

October 9, 1658.—Some discontented Members of the army f. 175. prepared a petition (but subscribed by none) to present to his Highness, praying that the Lord Fleetwood may be appointed Genrall of all the forces of the 3 nations, and give comissions to all but feild officers, and that none may be admitted or casheired the army but by a Court Martiall. Yesterday about 300 officers mett theirupon at Jameses. The Lord Fleetwood told them he had imparted the petition to his Highness, whose answer was he would not part with the power of the militia out of his owne hands, or the priviledge of granting comisions, yet would willingly advise with him in any matter of concernment to the army, and to the rest he assented. After which the Lords Fleetwood, Desbrough, Whaley, and Goffer, told them the dangerous consequence of such petitions in this juncture of tyme, and advised them to unity of spirit in carrying on the good old Cause, wherein his Highness resolved to live and dye with them. Major Generall Berry then opened the good intention of the petition, so the meeting broke up, and they all parted very well satisfied. G. M.

Oct. 16.— . . . The commission for a Commander in Chiefe is fayrly engrost with a blanck left for the name. The petitioners for the Lord Fleetwood to be Generall of the forces of England and Scotland have apointed another meetinge Friday next at Jameses. . . .

October 19, 1658.—Yesterday morninge his Highness sent for f. 180. the generall officers of the Army, and had much conference with them, and they parted with kindnes,¹ soe that I hope all suspitions of disquiet in the army are laid aside. My Lord Fleetwood by advice of his Highnes Councell is made Leiut-Generall of the armys in England and Scotland. I think his commission is as it

¹ Cf. Thurloe, vii. 447, 452, and Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, i. 246.

formerly was and no otherwise, and the interposition of the Counsell's advice is according to the eighth article of the Petition and advice.

T. C.

- f. 181. *Westminster, October 23, 1658.*—The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland's commission is sealed and sent over to him by his Secretary Doctor Petty. The office of marking of all white wollen clothes sent out of the nation, worth 1500^{li} per annum, conferr'd upon the Lord Lambert, and the seale of the office upon the Lord Falconbridge, both which lately belong'd to the late Duke of Lenox. On Tuesday last the Lord Fleetwood att a meeting of the officers about London att Wallingford House advised them to unity, and to take speciall care to prevent disorders amongst their souldiers. Friday the officers mett att S. James's to seeke God for a blessing upon the affaires of the nation, and a very eminent spiritt of prayer appeared in the officers. 25000^{li} order'd for the forces about London, and the guards about London to bee doubled. The losses of the English in the East Indies communicated to the Dutch Ambassadour. The Councill have had much debate about the Swed's businesse, butt are come to noe result. The siege att Copenhagen still continued. The Duke of Buckingham hath 14 dayes longer time to stay at Yorke House. Judge Margetts presented a petition to the Councill that there might bee distinct Advocates for England and Scotland.

G. M.

- f. 182. *Westminster, October 26, 1658.*—Yesterday his Highnesse and Councill satt againe in private debate touching the Swedish affaires relating to the interest of this nation, the results of which debate (though att present suspended from a publique knowledge by reason of the treaty with the Dutch Ambassadour) will suddenly appeare by the motion of Sir George Ayscue. The King of Sweden was lately forced to draw off from Copenhagen by reason of the great fall of raine, butt upon the abatement of the waters the siege was drawne closer then before, though with much hardshippe, the

souldours being forced in many places to stand uppe to the knees in water ; and by a merchant arrived heere last night from Holland 'tis said that the Dutch fleete rideth in the Sound ready to engage the Swedes, and that Copenhagen is surrendered.¹ Saterday last the Lord Pride dyed, whose death is heere much deplored.

G. M.

November 6, 1658.—Munday last his Highnesse had debate f. 185. with certaine feild officers about raysing monies by the New-buildings &c. to pay parte of the souldiers' arreares, and 6 sergeants are appointed to waite uppon and assist the Receivour of the monies. The same day the High Court of Justice mett, but suspended their sitting till further empowered by new Commission. Captain Hart is appointed by advice of the Councell to be Major to the Lord Montague's regiment. The Councell have ordered a draught for an Establishment for Dunkirke to be prepared. The D[uke] of Bucks (being sicke) to have 20 dayes longer liberty to stay at Yorke House. The funerall of his late Highnesse (intended to have been solemnized upon Tuesday next) is put of till further order.²

The officers met againe yesterday at James's, and about 3 f. 185b. howres prayed and expounded severall places of Scripture, and appointed to meet Friday next againe for the same purpose.³ The Dutch Ambassadour is not yet gone, nor going, though Sir George Ascue tooke yesterday shipping for Denmarke. G. M.

November 13, 1658.—The corpes of his late Highness were on f. 187.

¹ *Public Intelligencer*, November 8-15, 1658. 'A relation of the Sea-fight between the Swedes and Dutch, as it was sent from Helsingor, 29th of October' (English Style). The Swedes are said to have lost two ships, the Dutch nine. Another account is given in *Mercurius Politicus*, December 9-16.

² A newsletter dated September 25 says: 'The Councell sat most in consultation about due preparations for the Enterment of his late Highness, the glorious solemnity whereof will bee much after the manner of the late King Jameses.'

³ Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, i. 248, 251.

Wednesday last removed from Somerset House, and passing through James's Park were carryed to Westminster, and there interred in the vault in Henry 7 Chappell. The due preparacions being now neer finished a day will suddenly be appointed for celebrating the funerall, the whole charge whereof will amount to above 28000^l. Many of the Malignant party being flockt to town the forces are appointed on that day to be dispearsed upon severall guards in and about London, for the safety therof; all the foot soldiers are to be accoutred in new redd coates trim'd with black which is given them by his Highness, which makes them not a litle joyfull in his favour, and though the Captains and other inferiour officers have no mourning given them, yet his Highness hath promised that which shall be of equall vallue thereunto. . . .

Yesterday the officers mett againe at James', spent 3 houres praying, expounding, and speaking. It was moved in regard the language flew high, and tended as some said to division, that the meeting might be dissolved, yet otherwise ordered. . . . G. M.

Speech of the Protector, Richard Cromwell,
November 19, 1658

Friday November 19, 1658, his Highnesse appointed all the officers of the army about the towne to attend him at Whitehall, to whom he made a speech to this purpose.¹

f. 190b 'That hee desired a meeting with them to uphold the good correspondency that ought to bee betwixt him and the army, besides that hee was glad to see their faces, and now that hee had shewed them the way thither, he hoped they would more frequently make it their place of meeting, and all the roomes hee had, even to his bed-chamber, should be open to them (probably meaning thereby that there had been private meetings in other places, as

¹ See Thurloe, vii. 447, 452, for an earlier speech of Richard's to the officers on October 18, and for a different version of this one see *Mercurius Politicus*, November 18-25; cf. Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, i. 264.

indeed there had been, which was not so pleasing and acceptable unto him). Hee further told them, that by the providence of God the government of these nations was cast upon him, both as to the civill and military power, and that hee had accordingly been proclaimed and owned by the officers of the army, and since taken an oath to governe according to the Petition and Advice, which hee was resolved to pursue, and as they had consented in the proclayming of him Protector, so hoped they would assist him in the government, for hee stood in much need of their advice, being young and not fitted for so great a worke, and had a disadvantage, that hee succeeded one who was so extraordinarily able to undergoe so great a burthen, which would sinke him, if hee had not the advice and alsoe the prayers of good men. Hee alsoe told them that it would be very necessary all jealousies and misconstructions were layd aside, and that every one would bend their mindes to love and charity, and to beleive that hee would be as carefull to protect the godly of the nation, as others who apprehend a safe protection for them might be better elsewhere, and that it was a great discouragement unto him when some from whom he expected better things should have those jealousies of him, as to that and other particulars hee hoped hee did not deserve it, and did wish that they would be eyewitnesses of his actions.'

The occasion wherefore (as I apprehend) the Lord Protector made this speech to the officers, was because that this day they were to meet at St. James', as they had done for severall Frydaies before, where they had severall conferences upon places of Scripture, but medled not with the affaires civill or military till this day sennight that they began to breake out, and to hint at some alteracions made in the army, as if good men were put out, and worse put in; which speech Major Generall Goffe did oppose, and laboured to convince them of their errour, and the meeting this day at Whitehall prevented that meeting. The officers seemed to be much affected with what my Lord said, except some few of the inferiour sort who muttered a little after they were gone, but they were persons

inconsiderable, so that in all probability things will tend to unity in the army, and then my Lord Protector will have incouragement to protect lawes, liberty, property, magistrates and ministers, order and government, which hee is resolved to doe against all arbitrary wayes that shall be proposed to the contrary.¹

Mr. Downing to General Monck

Hague, $\frac{26 \text{ Nov.}}{6 \text{ Dec.}}$ 1658.

Right Honorable,

f. 198. Itt is nott to bee imagined what an outcry is heere upon the French Ambassadour and my giving in each of us a Memoriall to the States Generall, declaring his Highnesse and the King of France his intention to endeavour a peace in a seperate way betweene the Kings of Sweden and Denmark without intermedling other interests and matters therewith; they say they must not mind what France and England say, but follow their owne busines and interest, and that they shall never bee well till they have a little brought downe the courage of the English; yett it was not beleevved that his Highness would send a fleet to the Sound this Winter, untill that this dayes post brought newes of it's being gone, a[nd] I need not tell you that this gives a great alarme. The 4000 men which are to goe for the Sound sett sayle upon Tuesday last from Amsterdam to the Texell, whither also De Ruyther is gone with sea men for 4 men of warr with the which hee was to convoy them, and to morrow the[y] were to sett sayle; whether the newes come this day by the post of his Highnes' fleete being gone that way may put them to

¹ A newsletter from G. M., November 20, gives another and briefer account of the speech, adding that the officers 'seemed not a little satisfied at their departure.' They were to meet again the following Friday, and a letter of November 27 says: 'Yesterday the officers were again at James's to pray as formerly.' In a postscript it adds: 'A petition was carryed on by the troopers for the addition of 3^d per diem to their pay, but it is suppress, and the promoters under examinacion.' A letter of December 18 says: 'Wednesday last two troopers of the Lord Fleetwood's regiment were cashered by a Court Martiall for endeavoringe to promote a petition for arreares and increase of pay.'

new councells, time must shew. It hath frozen hard this 3 or 4 dayes, and snowed alsoe, [so] that people are already running upon the ice upon their scattes, and they begin to talke of the Sound freezing upp. I had ye[ste]rday a letter from Zealand of the 2^a instant, which saith that a Master of a vessell arrived there reports that hee had mett an English fleete of men of warr some dayes before upon the Dogg sands in the North Sea, yett men would not beleeve him, for that it was possitively writte from London, that that fleete was to goe to the coast of Spaine, and the last letters from St. Sebastian say that the Spanish plate fleete is already past the Havana. Thorine hath bin stormed by the Poles and the Imperialists, but they were repulsed by the beseidged with greate loss; the King of Sweden hath raised the seidge from before Copenhagen, and the Danes are demolishing the works that they had made, and the King is now at Landishroonen with his fleete.

G. D.

Newsletter

December 25, 1658.—The Dutchy Chamber and Court is f. 201. assigned to keepe the records of the House of Commons. The regiments of foote in England are reduced to 750 in each regiment, 500 of which reduced are sent to Flanders, and Collonel Gibbon's and Collonel Salmon's men to returne. The Establishments for the garisons in Flanders is passed. Majour James Russell is constituted Governour of Nevis. A Comittee to consider by what authority the Opera in Drury Lane is showne, and what the nature of it is. 160^{li} per annum for life is setled upon Collonel Mackworth his widow. James House is ordered to be made ready for hir Highenes Dowager, and the garison to be removed to Berkeshire House. Major Generall Harison is allready chosen a Member. The Maior of Readinge with the Towne Clarke so much displeased the townsmen on Tuesday last in proposinge 2 gentlemen to be chosen for that place, that they imediatly tooke a way the mace from the Mayor and clerke, and setled an other Maior and Towne Clerke.¹

G. M.

¹ Cf. *Mercurius Politicus*, December 23-30, 1658, p. 118.

Secretary Thurloe to General Monck

- f. 201b. *December 25, 1658.*—Vice-Admirall Goodson wrote to mee the last night, dating his lettre some leagues from the Scaw, that hee found soe much ice there that hee durst nott venture with the fleete into the Sound, that therfore itt was resolved there att a Councill of warre to returne back for the coast of England.¹ However the sending of the fleete thus farre hath bin without effect, for itt hath had such influence uppon the Dutch that itt hath hindred them from sending their new supplies of 4000 foote and 12 shippes of warre. J. T[HURLOE].

Westminster, 25 December
1658.
olim Christmas Day.

Newsletters 1659 ²

- xxxi. f. 3. *Westminster, January 1, 1658⁸.*—Upon complaint of the Dutch Ambassadour itt's referred to a Committee to finde out the authors of the bookes intituled, 'The Dutch Characteriz'd' and 'Mercurius Anglicus.' Some verses are lately printed reflecting uppon the person and governement of his late Highnesse, and a booke intituled, 'Breif Direccions how fitt a popular Governement may bee made'; both likewise referred. Some of the 20 sayle as lately came home and are nott defective ordered to remayne in the Downes, and the rest to come into harbour. G. M.

Major Harlowe is supposed to bee the authour of the verses before mentioned.

- f. 6b. *Westminster, January 6, 1658⁸.*—My Lord Fairfax is chosen Knight of the Shire for Yorkshire and Captain Harrison. Major Generall Harrison is chosen as is reported for Stone in Staffordshire. Colonel Rich stands for Southwarke. H. W.

¹ Cf. *Thurloe Papers*, vii. 581.

² The papers for the year 1659 come from vol. xxxi. of the *Clarke Papers*.

January 8, 1658.—The election of Yorkshire lay between the Lord Fairfax and Mr. Harrison when the last post came thence, and how it is decided wee yet heare not. Mr. Morden (safely tryed by the High Court of Justice) is likewise said to be chosen. Though severall of the eminent Commonwealths men are gott in upon this election, yet they are conceived to be of no greater advantage then any other, because that in all the debates for or against Kingship there was not one proselite or one disciple gained by what was argued by the wisest of men on both sides. The great bussines of the Councell this week hath been to prepare an estimate of the charge of his Highness, and how farr it hath exceeded publick receipts, and abated or taken out of the 300,000^{li} per annum allowed for maintainance of his Highnes' household expences for satisfaccion of the Parliament. Thursday last upon invitacion from his Highness all the officers of the army (not under the degree of a Captain) received a royall treatment at Whitehall.

Westminster, Jan. 11, 1658.—This day heere was chosen for parliament men, Alderman Thompson, Mr. Biddufe also a marchant, and Capt. Jones, onely these 3; others were in nomination, but they could not agree of any more: the dispute is now between Alderman Robinson and Major Generall Browne for the fourth man.

Jan. 11, 1658.—Capt. Stokes, commander of the fleete in the Streights, sent Capt. Whetstone, nephew to his late Highness, a prisoner from the fleete for disobeying orders, or some other reasons which I know nott of, and there is a Commission issued for a Court Martiall, wherof all the Commissioners of the Admiralty are to bee, and many other officers and other persons, and the quorum not to bee lesse then 14. There is also one Capt. Sanders of the fleete to bee tryed by the same Court, but his coming I have not yet heard of. My Lord Fleetwood and my Lord Disbrowe are in joynt commission made Lord Wardens of the Cinque Ports and Constables of Dover. . . . My Lord Whitelock is to be this day made one of the Commissioners of the Great

Seale, which some say is in order to his being Speaker of the Lords House. T. C.

Jan. 13, 1658.—This day the elections have been at Brainford for knights of the shire for Middlesex, where Mr. Gerrard, the eldest sonne of Sir Gilbert Gerrard, is chosen for one; yett though it bee now 7 of the clock in the afternoone the choice is nott yett determined for the other, but stands betwixt Sir James Harrington, Mr. Chute, and Mr. Berners, and itts thought the first of the 3 will carry it. T. C.

f. 14. *January 21, 1658.*—On Wednesday last Colonel Clarke of London, Mr. Recorder Shaftoe, Mr. Blaxton, and Captaine Lilburn [were] in nominacion as Burgesses; from 8 in the morning to 7 at night was their election, and after many high words and discontents on each party they came to the pole, and it was carryed for Mr. Shafto and Captain Lilburne with abundance of respect from the commons in Town, notwithstanding of severall people, especially the 2 persons I nominated in my last to your Lordship, who had put their prosolites abroad to hinder Captaine Lilburne.¹

The vote :

Recorder Shafto	449	} 1239
Captain Lilburne	.	.	.	.	341
Mr. Blaxton	.	.	.	.	269
Colonel Clarke	.	.	.	.	180

Mr. Downing to General Monck

f. 15b. *Hague, January $\frac{21}{31}$, 1658.*—The States of Holland are seperated with a resolution to returne againe about Thursday next; in the meane tyme the sea equiphage goes one a pace, and at their returne they will come fully authorized with power to conclude about the number of ships to be fitted out, according to the advice

¹ This refers to the Newcastle election, and is evidently addressed to Monck by some officer there.

of the Colledges of the Admiraltie hinted in my last, as alsoe to consent to the raising of the 200 penny of all mens estats, and such other extraordinary taxes as the Admiralties have advised to, that soe they may not be foyled for want of monys in the carrying on of this busines of the Sound, which they of Amsterdam say plainly they will [go] through with, although it cost them the half of their estates; and its strange to see with what readyness this people doe consent to extrerordinary taxes, although their ordinary taxes be yett as great as they were dureinge the warr with Spaine, and indeed such as would make any man admire at, a barrell of ordinary beere payeing 40 stivers excise, and 5 stivers for bringing in, each stiver beinge more then an English penney, and every man payes the 6 penny of the rack rent of his lands besides an infinity of other taxes, soe that I have reckoned that a man cannot eate a dish of meat in an ordinary but that one way or another he shall pay 19 excises out of it. This is not more strange then true. Men doe not heere beleeve that you will be able to possess any English Parliament soe fare as to be willinge to contribute in a farr lesser degree to the mainteyninge of your interest in the Sound or elce where abroad, and if not, this people know that in the conclusion they must be your maisters in poynt of trade and interest abroad. Besids the plaine truth is your booke of rates for the customes is as an unpassible barr against trade, and let what elce in the world wilbe or can be done, as long as that stands as its now its a vanity for you to hope for trade, but theis are subjects too large for a letter. Its heere resolved againe to send 4000 men to the Sound, and heere is yet neither frost nor snow, so that men say the English fleete lost a brave opportunity. I receaved one from your Lordship by the last post save one, and shall onely say that there is noe man alive whome you shall fynd upon any occasion more truly my Lord,

Your Lordship[s] most affectionate
humble servant,

G. D.

Newsletter

f. 16b. *Westminster, January 27.*—This day the Parliament mett, and my Lord Protector went to the sermon in the Abbey in Westminster; to whome as alsoe to both Houses Doctor Thomas Goodwin did preach, who exhorted his auditorie that mercy and truth might meete together, that Christian liberty might be preserved without unchristian licentiousnesse, that magistracy and ministry may bee maintained; and after [the] sermon my Lord Protector came to the House of Lords, and spake to both Houses with such a grace and presence, and with such oratory and steadinesse, without the least interruption and soe pertinently to the present occasion, as itt was beyond all expectacion.¹

You sent mee a list who are chosen in Scotland: I am afraid I shall send you worde that their elections will bee all questioned, for att this dayes meeting where 340 were sworne in the House of Commons I finde an indisposition towards them, and that to morrow they will bee putt hard to itt to make them incapable of sitting. Itt is a Commonwealthes interest doth oppose them.

There will bee two to one for confirming of the present settlement by a Protector and two Houses against a standing Commonwealth Councill (for standing pooles doe corrupt), yett as to the qualificacion of the other House, and whether the wordes of the Act² warrant the Scotts Members sitting, will take debate; I beleive there will bee a considerable party for Scotts Members to sitt, butt nott for the Irish.

J. R.

¹ He 'delivered himself in a compendious speech for above a quarter of an hour' says another letter of the same date. A third adds that 'it was very taking, and much approved of by most of the members, which they signified by their general hummings of him whilest hee was speaking.'

² The Petition and Advice.

George Downing to Secretary Thurloe¹

Hague, Jan. 28
Feb. 7. 1659.

By a lettre lately from Admirall Opdam wee understand that f. 20b.
the King of Denmarke was sending some shippes to the Island of
Borneholme, which they had lately surprised from the Swede, for
provisions of butter and other such necessaries as that place could
afford, for the supply of Copenhagen, where they had had some
few dayes before a great alarme by the Swedes drawing together
upon a Sunday while they were all at Church, so that ministers
and people run all out of the churches to the walls. The States
of Holland have resolved that 48 sayle of great men of warre be
forthwith equipped, over and above the 35 sayle which are already
in the Sound under the command of Admirall Opdam, and this
not to hinder what further resolution they may thinke meet to
take in order to a further equippage in further pursuance of the
advise of the respective Admiralties, and they worke Sabbath daies
and workeing dayes all alike at Amsterdam for the hastning of
this equippage. I hope God will give you such spirit as to con-
sider how much you are interested in these concernements abroad,
and not to spend your time about vaine questions and janglings
which profit not, to the neglect of your reall concernements and the
necessities of the people, who languish for many good and whole-
some lawes, and to the makeing yourselves ridiculous and a scorne
to all people abroad. I must tell you that I know not any thing
so much talked of at this time as the Parliament at London, and
it's judged twenty to one odds that the issue of it will be nothing
but janglings about questions in the ayre, and that by that meanes
you will not be in a readynesse with the time of the yeare for
affaires abroad, and it's not to say what moneyes were sufficient
for England in former times, for then England's revenue though

¹ The letter is unaddressed, but from the advice about Parliament contained in it is probably a copy of a letter written to Thurloe.

small, yet held proportion with the revenues of neighbouring Princes and States about them, and that must be the rule now, or England is undone. If this countrey keepe up their taxes to the height, yea encrease them, and England do not the like, must it not necessarily follow that all men must apply to this countrey, and England be wholly neglected and forgotten? But the playne truth is, if you will be able to pay taxes you must lower your customes very greatly, and raise it by way of excise; for my owne part I am clearely of opinion that you ought to take away the halfe of the customes, yea in some thinges, as particularly all woollen manufactures, to bring downe the cloath from 6^s 8^d custome to 8^d or 4^d, as it is in this country, and in other thinges you ought to take away all the custome, as upon Spanish woolls and other wools imported, and England shal never, and can never flourish, until this be done. And for wines they ought not to pay above 10^s per tun custome, whereby you may be in a condition to make England as well as this country a magazine for wines. All other projects for advancing of trade without this are to little purpose. Beside some law ought to be made empowering his Highnesse and Councell to give orders for the compelling of ships, as they shall see cause, to stay for and be subject to their convoyes, as it is in this country. That foolish fancy of getting first to the market makes so many never come thither. Many other thinges I would hint, but they would be too large for a letter. The other night a rabble of people of about two or three hundred, upon pretence of a difference (which yet indeed was none) between the Envoy extraordinary of Poland, and some of his footmen, came about his house in a violent outrageous manner, revileing him, breaking the windowes with stones, and endeavouring forceably to enter at the windowes and doores, so that he was in danger of his life; and the next day officers came with an order from one of the Courts here upon a pretended false ground to seize all his goods; of which actions here are constructions made which I shall not hint, but this is certaine that many here doe not well relish his being to goe for England.

Yesterday morneing I signed an accord with the Deputies of the States Generall, whereby this State is obliged to make full satisfaction for 3 English ships taken in the roade of Bantam in the East Indyes by the Dutch East Indy-Company; they are to pay for the ships and goods as they would have bin worth at London, in case they had not bin hindered in their voyage, together with interest, and the money is all to be payd at London.

G. D.

Extracts from Newsletters

Feb. 1, 1658.—The bill for recognition hath bin read twice in the Lords House, and once in the House of Commons. Mr. Scott, and Sir Arthur Hesterigge, and some others, spake against the admitting of Scotch and Irish members, and something in a Commonwealth's way, but nott much taken notice of. G. M.

Feb. 3, 1658.—Though this parliament consists as may seeme of various judgements, yett I am very hopefull they shall be found of sober spiritts, and that they will make itt their worke to fix and settle the present government, and nott att all shake or weaken itt, whereby the spiritts of these nations will bee much quieted, and the enemies of peace much disappointed. J. M.

Feb. 5, 1658.—This daye the Lord Fairfax, Lieut Generall Ludlowe, Mr Godfrey, Mr St Nicholas, and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, came into the House; some of them scrupled the oath taken by the members; some dispute whether they should be admitted to sitt without taking itt, but the debate waived.

G. M.

Newsletters

February 3, 1658.—By lettres from Flanders itt is informed, f. 23. that it was the Lord Lockhart's pleasure to command five companies of Colonel Lillington's regiment from their Winter quarters at Amiens in order to the strengthening of Dunkirke, [cypher] which was obeyed, and Majour Mallory of the said regiment

marched with 5 companies, and tooke shipping in 2 vessels from St. Valeries, but the said vessells by reason of a tempest were separated, and the one vessell got safe to Dunkirke, but the other, wherein was the Major [and] divers officers with 2 companies and a halfe, had been missed 7 dayes when my lettres were dated, which causeth great doubts that they are shipwrackt, for which I am heartily sorry.

G. M.¹

- f. 25. *February* 8, 165⁸.—As to Parliament newes, there is nothing yett done more then debates. A petition is intended to bee presented to the House of Commons uppon tomorrow; there are about 12 persons, men of considerable quality who are to deliver it, they were at Westminster Hall this day to have delivered it; a freind who read the petition told mee the contents thereof was in effect as followeth. It is directed to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, and the petitioners call themselves 'the severall inhabitants in and about the City of London.' The preamble of the petition sets forth what God by his providence hath done in conquering their enemies, and restoring the people to their rights and privileges, and that now the Parliament being called it was onely in their power to establish them; the matter and aime of the petition in substance is that the present Gouvernement be overturned, and that the sole Gouvernement be in Parliament. A Commonwealth's Gouvernement that is a perpetuall Parliament. There is a postscript to it declaring the people's rights to petition Parliament, and that in the former Parliament they were threatned to be harmed in their bodies, that their petition was called mutinous, and that severall subscribers had for subscribing been turned out of their places, as Major Packer and others, something more to this effect there is.² I had it this day

¹ MS. 'T. M.'

² A second newsletter adds that the petition is the same upon the matter 'if not the very words, that should have bin presented to the last Parliament, and which as supposed was the occasion of his late Highnesse p[re]m[at]ure dissolving the Parliament The House are not possest of it, and is like will not bee till this debate be over.'

from a merchant, that the Hollanders besides their great preparation for shipping have ordered that no manner of munition or accommodacion for shipping be suffered to go out of their country. Major Audley is at liberty. H. W.

Westminster, February 10, 1658.—The House of Commons, f. 26b. after 4 dayes debate and many harangues of some able men, hath come noe further length then by a vote to state the question, that they will have a previous vote anent declaring his Highnesse to bee Lord Protector before their committing of the bill, butt whether that declaration shall have this addition (with such limitations as the Parliament shall appoynt) or nott, is to bee debated to morrow; and that is observed of the old Parliament men's speeches, severall arguments has bin insisted on against the other House of Lords, especially this, that they have nott the same naturall interest in making of lawes that the old Lords had, because they had nott soe large a propriety of estates.

In the other House they are uppon amending the acts against swearing, drunkennesse, and profanation of the Lord's Day.

H. I.

February 15, 1658.—Yesterday night about 10 of the clock f. 30. the Parliament passed 2 votes; The first was, That this House doth recognize his Highnesse to bee Lord Protector and Cheif Magistrate of this Commonwealth; The 2^d was, That they doe likewise resolve to debate and assert the rights and liberties of the people in the same bill, of which the former vote is to bee a part; and that nothing of the former vote is to bee bindinge till the whole bill bee compleated made uppe of the later vote, as well as the former. In the forenoone a vote was pass'd whether the worde recognize should bee parte of the question, and itt was carried by about 18 or 20 voices in the affirmative. These 3 votes are the issue of 8 dayes debate uppon the bill brought in by Mr. Secretary for recognizing his Highnesse by both Houses of Parliament. There

- is yett nothing said to the Lord's House. Tomorrow the first thinge debated is to bee the rights and liberties of the people, and nothing to intervene, according to the last vote the last night ; and what this question or debate will bringe forth, or what the House meanes by itt, I am nott able to determine, butt many suppose the Militia are¹ a barre to the negative voice. Those they call the Commonwealth party are numerous in the House, I pray God to dispose their hearts to sobriety and moderation, the nations longs after a settlement which I hope in some time may now bee effected. This day Mr. Moyer and divers other gentlemen brought in a petition much in favour of common right and justice, and against tyranny, and such like expressions, and officers being
- f. 30b. turn'd out civill and martiall att discretion. The House read the petition, and returned answer, they had and would take the matters therin,² as they should thinke meete, into their consideration. My Lord Fairfax sits in the House. E. S.

- f. 31b. *February 15, 1658.*—The 14 instant a Committee of officers were appointed to draw uppe some heads to bee framed into a petition, and presented to the Parliament in the name of the army. His Highnesse was lately with the officers att the Lord Fleetwood's, and admonished them to bee prudent and carefull in the draught of this intended petition, which (itt's hop't) will bee carefully observ'd. G. M.

- f. 32b. *London, February 17, 1658.*—Some of the officers of the army have had some meetings att my Lord Fleetwood's about a remonstrance or petition, butt did nothing butt debate thinges, and seemed resolved to acquiesce in the Parliament determinations ; however they did chuse a committee to consider of something, in case itt might bee seasonable to offer any thinge to the Parliament ; vizte : Lord Fleetwood, Lord Disbrowe, Lord Whalley, Lord

¹ MS. 'ard.'² Cf. Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, i. 302.

Berry, Major General Lilburne, Colonel Ashfeild, Lieutenant Colonel Mosse, Major Ellison, Captain Deane, and some others.

G. M.¹

Westminster, February 25, 1658.—Last night the Parliament s^t. 37. satt till betweene 11 and 12 att night before they came to a vote (after 3 dayes debate), of referring it to his Highnesse to prepare and put forth the fleet to sea for the defence of the Commonwealth and secureing of commerce and trade. That which hath been the occasion of the great contest was, that some (and that the greater part) are of opinion to have the government of the nation in a single person well limited and bounded, and two Houses of Parliament, others are for an absolute Commonwealth within the walls of the House of Commons, exclusive to all others; by degrees one step will follow another, till (I hope) they doe come to a right understanding.² It is a shame that wee should sitt still at home with our hands in our pocketts, and to let the Dutch goe with so great a fleete into the Sound, and so probably have it delivered up by the Dane unto them, and wee sit still at home, and not to come and interpose by way of mediation to keepe the ballance equall betweene those two Princes, the Dane and the Swede, that the Dutch may not take it from them both, and give a law to us as to our navigation, the wooden walls of the nation.³ I hope the

¹ MS. 'G. N.'

² A letter dated March 1 adds: 'Yesterday the House was in debate of the House of Lords, whether it should consist of the old, present, or mixed peerage.' The debates are reported at length in Burton's *Diary*.

³ Downing writes from the Hague, ^{Feb. 25} ~~March 7~~: 'This last weeke wee have bin filled with reports that my Lord Protector was putt in the Tower by the parliament, and that the Lord Fairfax was to bee Generall, the Lord Lambert, Lieut General and Major General Harrison, Major Generall of the Army, and that now there was noe danger of England being troublesome this yeare in the Sound or elsewhere.'

House of Commons will get a further steppe to give them instructions for their deportment at such a time, but as yet thinges passe with much difficulty, and the other House is not yet owned by the Commons, nor of what composition it shall be made (if the now standing be not allowed.) These are great and waighty matters; long debate and strong reasons will discover the conveniences or inconveniencies, and I hope produce good and noble resolutions.

J. R.

- f. 49b. [March 12 ?]—Major Generall Overtons coming to Towne was after an unusuall manner for prisoners especially, I remember the like was when Dr. Bastwick Prinne and Burton were brought to London, they came after the same, and possibly fared the worse for it. The manner of it was that when hee came to Branford about 1500 people were there waiting his comeing, and betweene that and Westminster many others, some in coaches, some on horseback, some of them with their wives, and others on foote. The Collonel was in a coach with the Captain of the Castle from whence hee came, with one servant for his guard. The Collonel sat in the boote of a coach, and all the way as he passed by to the people and there uppon the roade hee kept of his hatt, and bowed to them. He was appointed by his Highnes to bee conveyed to Lambeth, there to bee in readines to attend the Parliament when hee should bee sent for; but when the Captain would have gone that way, it being out of the roade towards Westminster, the people would not suffer him; the Parliament [was] then sitting, but roase before hee could have got to them if hee had kept on his way. It being understood that the people would not permitt him to goe to Lambeth, the sould-jours who kept guard at the Tilt Yard (all or most part of his attendants being passed by in the order of ranck and file, of whome about 200 horse 4 in ranck) made bould according to order, and tooke him away to a howse beyond Jamses; after candlelight hee was permitted to goe to the George in King streete, where his wife

with freinds had made provision for him. This short march has obtained too long a declaracion.¹

H. W.

London, March 17.—A bill brought into the House of Lords f. 54b. for declaring of those that are summoned, and such as hereafter shall bee summoned by his Highnesse and approved by the Houses, nott exceeding the number of . . . to bee the other House of Parliament, formerly called the House of Lords, and to have all the priviledges belonging therunto, and not limitted by the Petition and Advice, butt withall, that none of their heires, nor the heires of any others, shall claime right to sitt in that House, unlesse they bee first summoned and approved as aforesaid.

E. S.²

London, March 19.—After 5 or six dayes debate of the f. 56b. Scottish Members right to sitt in the House of Commons, and being come very neere to a question theruppon, yesterday in the afternoon their was a question putt upon their withdrawing befor the maine question of their right of sitting was put, and that being put at 8 of the clock at night it was carried in the negative (that they should not withdraw); and this was carried by 60 voyces, the Scottish and Irish included. There was about 140 for their withdrawing, and about 210 for their not withdrawing; and now this day, being Saturday, they are about the question, whether they shall continue to sit their in a way of prudence and equity, or by way of right and law. The Commonwealth's men (so called) are, that the question may be upon their right and legality, and their opponents (the Scots' best freinds) are for their continuance upon a question of prudence, and would fortify it afterwards by Act of Parliament, and thus wee are striving for victory; and this day at

¹ For comments on this scene see the letter of Bordeaux to Mazarin. Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, i. 336.

² The journals of Cromwell's House of Lords are in the possession of Sir Richard Tangye. Very little is said of their proceedings in newsletters or newspapers.

12 of the clock they were not resolved of the question of right or prudence, but in short it is my thoughts that it will be carried cleare for their sitting amongst us. The next debate will be upon the Irish Members, for which there is not so much to be said.

E. S.¹

- i. 66b. [March 31.²—The account of these two last dayes proceedings is very small. Mr. Secretary Thurloe being much concerned in the former petition of Thomas which I mencioned in my last, haveing prepared himselfe by searching out the papers and examinacions taken against this Thomas, gave the House an account thereof, which being proved would amount to no lesse then high treason, and therefore moved for his committment in order to his tryall at law. Upon this many debates followed with some heates or bitterness not fit to be mencioned; the result was the Sergeant at Armes should apprehend him, but I feare he will not be had.³ It was moved for the Cavaleers to depart 20 miles from London, and spoken to by severall Members to have it done, but nothing was done. I believe it will within a day or two be moved againe and done, for the receiving such desperate Cavaliers' petitions will make them flock in swarmes to the Parliament. At the committee of Greevances the Lady Hewet's petition concerning the execution of her husband Doctor Hewet was layd aside, in regard some Members of the other House being his Judges were concerned therein. If it shall bee tendred to the House, I hope it shall be rejected; I feare such petitions if not discountenanced and nipt in the bud will signifie little to a settlement. Something has been said that there should be Parliaments again in Ireland and Scotland, but I hope there are not many will yeeld to that. The petition concerning excize, customes, tonnage and poundage was

¹ Perhaps Capt. Edward Scotton, M.P. for Devizes, or Col. Edward Salmon, M.P. for Scarborough.

² Undated in the MS.

³ This took place on March 30. Burton's *Diary*, iv. 301.

read this day, and warmly debated, and adjourned till to morrow, to be resumed nothing to intervene.¹ Today 3 weekes hence is appointed to call the House, and to consider of a new way of distribution of Members to serve in Parliament for England.² A petition was read for the county and city or towne of Durham to be inabled to chuse and send Members to the Parliament, which is committed. I hope after wee are become a little cooler, and have a better understanding one of an other, and that all hopes of turning the government into a Commonwealth government is lost, wee shall redeem our so much lost time.

April 2, 1659.—This day a generall Councill of officers agreed f. 68b. upon these heads to be presented in Parliament in petition (1) The payment of their arreares and their future pay to be ascertained (2) Indempnity in secureing Cavaleers etc for the preserving the peace of the nations (3) In regard Massy is here, and Charles Steward and his brother expected here 4 May next, and in the interim the Councell meet three dayes a weeke, that provision therefore should be made against them. G. M.

April 5.—The Committee for drawing uppe the Army petition were Maj. Gen. Lilburne, Col. Ashfeild, Col. Myll, Lt. Col. Mason, Lt. Col. Pearson, Lt. Col. Haine, Lt. Col. Arnop, Lt. Col. Mayer, and Capt. Richard Deane.³

[*April 7.*—]Uppon Saturday last there was order given unto all f. 72b. the officers of the armies in England, Scotland and Ireland that were in or neere London to meete att Wallingford House. After wee were mett my Lord Fleetwood tould us the cause of our meeting was to let us understand the great sence hee had of the want of pay for the souldjers of the armies, and desired the officers

¹ See Burton's *Diary*, iv. 312–317, 327. This may refer either to the debate of March 31, or to that of April 1.

² These two votes were passed on March 31 (Burton, iv. 312). 'Today' is probably a clerical error for 'to-morrow.'

³ The Petition is printed in the old *Parliamentary History*, xxi. 340; cf. Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, i. 351.

to consider of it, and after many speeches made by severall officers it was resolved, that it should bee referred to a committee of eight feild officers, three Collonells and five Lieutenant Collonels, a list of theire names are heere inclosed. That which was committed unto them was to drawe a draught of a representation, and a petition of all the officers to bee delivered to his Highnes uppon Monday. A draught of the representation was brought in at the generall meeting, and it was considered of part by part, and uppon Tuesdays it was ordered to be drawne faire, and signed uppon Wednesday, and delivered by my Lord Fleetwood, who was accompanied by all the officers that did subscribe it; the representation was delivered in Henry the Eightes Chamber.¹ J. M.

The representation and petition is ordered to bee sent into Scotland and into Ireland, for all the officers concurrence therein.

Letter to General Monck

f. 79b. *April 14, 1659.*—This day Mr. Grove came to the other House attended with above 60 of the House of Commons to deliver to our House the declaration about the faste; our Speaker with the most part of the House went downe to the Barr uncovered, and received from them the message, which was delivered in these tearmes, that the Knights, Cittizens and Burgesses had sent to this House the declaration, and desired their concurrence therin; they attended in the laubbey [of] the House, their answer which was, that they would send it with messengers of their owne, which was thei after given to them by our Speaker standing and uncovered, to convince them of the House their civilitie towards them,² wheras they have in their committee been upon severall debates anent what title to give to the other House and such like formalltyes. We are to fall on debate of the declaration tomorrow, which I apprehend shall cost a great debate. We have also made ready a draught of

¹ See Ludlow's *Memoirs*, ii. 65, ed. 1894. ² *Ibid.* ii. 60, ed. 1894.

a proclamation for sending the new come over officers, and other Malignants that had been in armes, twenty miles from London, and intends to communicate it to them, that his Highness may be desired by both Houses to emitt it. The report of the treaty going on between France and Spaine may necessitate us to leave off many idle debates, and come to more substanciall correspondence. The army had their fast yesterday in my Lord Fleetwood's. The bill anent the excise was brought in to indure only durement this Parliament, which will breed a great debate, for it must either cutt short the army, or prolong the Parliament very longe. Their is a vile paper called a Seasonable Speech spread to make Members of our House odious.

A. J.¹

Newsletters

[April 14.]—Yesterday the House resumed the consideration of £ 80. the arreares of the excise, and afterwards voted that none of their proceedings should bee hereafter published in the weekly print. That whole day was spent by the army in prayer and preaching at the Lord Fleetwood's howse, and carryed on by Mr. Griffeth, Mr. Peters, and other ministers. This day the House agreed with the declaration for a day of fasting, and sent it upp to the other House by Mr. Grove for their concurrence; their Lordships sent answer that the Howse would speedily consider thereof, and send answer by messengers of their owne. This afternoone a generall Councell of the army met at Wallingford House, and agreed to declare against Charles Stewart and his interest, and for the Protectors and the Parliaments to protect all such as have bene

¹ This was written by a member of the Second Chamber who had some connection with the Government of Scotland, probably by Archibald Johnston, of Warriston. The use of the word 'anent' seems to prove the author was a Scot. The 'speech' against the House of Lords referred to is that reprinted in Morgan's *Phoenix Britannicus*, where it is attributed to Sir A. A. Cooper. It is also reprinted in the *Somers Tracts*, vi. 466, and in Christie's *Life of Shaftesbury*, vol. i. appendix iv. There is no good ground for attributing it to Cooper. The full title of it is *A Seasonable Speech made by a worthy Member of Parliament in the House of Commons, concerning the other House, March, 1659.*

ingaged in his ¹ death, and so admonish the army to amity and unity, and to a strict walking before the Lord. It is observed that when Mr. Grove was called in all the other Howse was bare to him and the 50 that accompanied him, and soe met them at their Barr againe upon their Lordships delivering their answer.

G. M.

- 81b. [April 16 ?]—Yesterday the Howse ordered Mr. Bampfild [to be called to the chair], their Speaker, Mr. Chalenor Chute, being lately departed. This day was spent in a paper for grevances from the Quakers directed to their Speaker, who they desired would read it to the Howse. They begin thus (friends) ; after it was read two of them were called in, and the Speaker told them that the Howse did expect that they should returne to their severall howses, and live peaceably, and with submission to the lawes of the nation. The Lord Fleetwood, according to the order of the last Generall Councell, is (with the advice of such officers as hee thinks fit) drawing upp the last heade agreed upon against the next meeting the 20th instant. The other Howse is yet debateing their answer to the declaration for the fast, and the manner of sending the same to the Commons. The Lord Kensington dyed yesterday of the small pox ; the Earle of Bedford is almost recovered thereof. The newse of the peace betweene France and Spaine is by letters this post confirmed.

G. M.

One of the Quakers was Cornett Billing.²

- f. 86b. April 21.—Yesterday the House was resolved in a grand committee for considering upon the speedy payment of some moneyes to the army, which debate was adjourned till to morrow morning. This day hath been spent upon considering how the Militia may be best secured, which by the sence of the House appears to mee

¹ The late King's.

² See Fox's *Journal*, pp. 272, 277. This Cornet Edward Billing had been a soldier under Monck in Scotland, and was one of the founders of the Colony of New Jersey.

will be declared to consist in his Highnesse and both Houses of Parliament, but the debate is not come to a question as yet. Yesterday the other House met in the afternoone, and did debate concerning their approbation of the votes concerning the officers and their generall councell, but their answer is not yet returned, for they have declared they will send it by messengers of their owne. I heare his Highnesse had some alarme yesternight, whereupon he tooke horse, and did visit the guards, but (blessed be God) there was no occasion of feers.¹ At his Highnesse' returne (as I am informed) hee did call for Collonel Hacker, and confer'd upon him the honour of Knighthood. I hope this businesse shall resolve in peace notwithstanding of some jealousies at present, and the rather because the peace betwixt France and Spaine is still reported here as concluded.

W. R.²

April 22, 1659.—Munday last about 2 of the clock the f. 85b. officers according to his Highnesse' command attended him at Whitehall, where hee made knowne his pleasure that from henceforth the meeting of the officers in a Generall Councell should be dissolved (the Parliament haveing their desires under consideracion), and then commanded them to repaire with all convenient speed to their respective commands in the 3 nations.³ The Parliament that day lock't themselves close up, not allowing a Member to come out till 4 of clock, and ordered that there shall be no Generall Councell of officers of the army, without the leave, direction, and authority, of his Highnesse and both Houses of Parliament, and that no person shall have or continue any command or trust in any of the armyes or navyes of the 3 nations, who shall not subscribe, that he shall not disturbe or interrupt the free meetings in

¹ Cf. Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, i. 364.

² Probably William Rosse, one of the Scottish Members.

³ See an account of this interview in a letter of Anthony Morgan's to Henry Cromwell. Ludlow's *Memoirs*, ii. 68, ed. 1894, and Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, 364.

Parliament of any Member of either House of Parliament, or their freedoms in their debates and councells. And that the concurrence of the other House be desired to these votes. It was referred to a committee to consider how his Highnesse, the Parliament, and the 3 nations, may be secured against the Cavaleers party. Another committee was appointed to prepare a bill for indempnifyeing of all persons that have served the Commonwealth. The other [House] spent much time in debate of the 2 first votes that were yesterday sent up to them concerning the officers and their generall Councell, but came to no result therein. It was Thursday referred to a committee to consider how the moneyes owing to this Commonwealth may be brought [in], and also how money may be speedily raised for the army and navy, which was yesterday considered of by a grand committee of Parliament. Many officers met yesterday at Wallingford House, according to former adjournement of the Generall Councell, but sate not, because the Lord Fleetwood was going to the other House. The Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen yesterday came downe with a petition to his Highnesse, wherein they declared that they will stand by him as their Chiefe Magistrate and the two Houses of Parliament with the utmost of their lives and fortunes, for which his Highnesse returned them thanks. The officers of the city trained bands presented to his Highnesse the representation in approbation of the late petition of the army. That night the Lord Fleetwood and the Lord Disbrow attended his Highnesse till 11 at night, and then declared their full satisfaction in what his Highnesse had then said to answer the desires of and to live and dye with the armies of the 3 nations, which hath since prevailed with the rest of the officers to acquiesce. Orders being last night given for the outguards to be very diligent, a troupe quartered at Islington at night appeared in armes, at which an alarme was taken by all our guards, which occasioned some preparations extraordinary at Whitehall and other guards. This day was spent by the Commons in debateing his Highnesse to be Generall; to morrow it may probably come to a result.

G. M.

April 23, 1659.—Thursday night all the regiments heere both f. 87.
horse and foote were in armes. That of the late Lord Pride
march't into Whitehall without opposition. His Highnesse gave
orders to Colonel Hacker's and other regiments to march to White-
hall for the preservation of his person, but having before received
other orders from the Lord Fleetwood, they with all the rest
obeyed his Excellencie's rather then those from his Highnesse.
All this was done without seizing any man's person, shedding a
droppe of blood, or making the least confusion in the city and
suburbs. Yesterday his Highnesse signed a commission to
dissolve both Houses. The other House sent the Black Rodde
three times to the Commons to meete them for that purpose, butt
because itt was nott brought by a Member of their owne, they
refused to admitt therof by the messenger,¹ against whome they
lock't their doors, who theruppon by order of the other House brake
his black rodde att the doore of the House of Commons in testi-
monie of their dissolucion, which the Judges say is good in law,
though the Commons have adjourned themselves till Munday
morning. The Councill of officers mett this day debating what
governement shall bee settled, whether by the Petition and Advice,
the Longe Parliament to bee recalled, or a new governement
constituted. G. M.

April 23, 1659.—Thursday night the horse and foote in and f. 87b.
about London were commanded into S. James's Feilds and other
partes about Whitehall and Westminster, and when the Parliament
mett on Friday morning they looked uppon itt as a force uppon
them, and soe adjourned till Munday, butt this day his Highnesse
dissolved the Parliament by proclamation. Tis rumoured in the
towne that the French and Spaniard have made a peace, butt others
say that the Spaniards have putt a slurre upon the French, and
keepe the Infanta of Spaine to marry the Emperour, soe that's itt's
conceived itt will exasperate the French very much. T. F.

¹ MS. 'Master.'

Lieutenant-General Fleetwood to General Monck

f. 88b.

My Lord,—I doe presume that some late actions of the army may bee misrepresented unto you, for prevention wherof I shall give you a short account of affaires heere. Wee having received very certaine assurances of our old enemies designes and others to disturbe our present peace, wee were necessitated to draw the forces together in order to the security and peace of this citty and nation. Notwithstanding our intentions were for the good of the whole, yett I beleive some will very evilly represent us in this action, as if wee had forced the Parliament, though his Highnesse by his owne authority did dissolve them, in which the army did stand by his Highnesse. The present state of affaires are through mercy in much quietnesse, and the army in much union, and I hope your Lordshippe will nott give credit to other information, butt preserve the union betwixt both armies as may inable them with joynct indeavours to serve his Highnesse in the further preservacion of this good old Cause wee have bin soe longe engaged in, and nott suffer the attempts of any to devide us to take effect. The welfare of these nations being soe much concerned therin, I shall rest very confident your Lordshippe will preserve a right understanding betwixt us, wherby wee may bee the better inabled through the goodnesse of the Lord to answer the great ends of our trust. Your Lordshippe shall suddenly heare att large from mee concerning these affaires, and shall take itt as a great kindenesse from you rather to give credit to my self then any other, wherin you may be assured I shall nott deceive your expectation butt give you the true state of thinges; in the meane time [I] must abruptly breake of being very late, and remayne,

My Lord,

Your affectionate humble servant,

April 23, 59.

CHARLES FLEETWOOD.¹

For the right Honorable the Lord Generall Monck, Scotland, Edinborough.

¹ Another copy of this letter is amongst Mr. Leyborne-Popham's papers.

Secretary Thurloe to General Monck

April 26, 1659.—I hope you will have heard before this comes f. 91. to your hands of the dissolution of the Parliament and of the manner of it. It hath pleased God that wee have since continued in peace; how long that mercy will be afforded, none can tell. The Cavalier party is exceeding busy, and will suddenly attempt something, if not prevented; wee will endeavour what wee can to doe it, and I desire your Lordship to be very vigilant to Scotland, where part of their designe is layed. This I am sure of, and it will be necessary that the forces be informed thereof, and be in a readinesse to suppress any insurrection of that kinde. I have this day received letters from France, assuring that the peace between France and Spayne is so farre advanced, that it can scarcely miscarry. It's said commonly, that all the points of it are agreed, but that I beleive not. Generall Montague arrived in the Sound the 6th instant; hee hath offered to both the Kinges his good offices to make a peace between them, which neither of them seeme much to inclyne to. Nothing of action hath fallen out considerably between Denmark and Sweden of late. J. T.

Newsletters

April 29, 1659.—Wee are all in much peace and quietnesse to f. 95b. the great disappointment of our enemies, and there is an hearty owning both of persons and thinges relating to our good old Cause and principles; and for a demonstration therof there was this day received againe into the army, the Lord Lambert, Colonel Okey, Colonel Saunders, Major Packer, and Captain Gladman; which was done with very much joy and acclamation, and to the satisfaction of all our old and good freinds, and many good thinges are agreed uppon to bee putt in practice for the purging of the army, and for the putting of them into a condition of safety, both for the preservation of themselves and the nation.¹ J. M.

¹ Cf. letter of April 7. J. M. was an officer in the army, probably in the army in Scotland, and not an M.P. Perhaps Captain John Miller, if he was in England.

f. 96. *April 30, 1659.*—This weeke a Councill of officers hath satt att Wallingford House, consisting of these Lords, vizte. Fleetwood, Disbrow, Sydenham, Cowper, Jones, and Berry, Colonel Hacker, Lilburne, Ashfeild, Salmon, Backstead, and Zanchey; Lord Lambert, Colonel Okey, Colonel Saunders, and others lately added. They have spent much time in considering of a new Governement, and incline to the calling of the Longe Parliament, and nominating a councell, who are said shall have a check or negative uppon them, others say nott. On Thursday last, the Councill ordered that the Lord Lambert shall command the Lord Faulconbridge's regiment, Colonel Okey the Lord Ingoldesbye's, Colonel Saunders that which was formerly his owne, Sir Arthur Heslerigge the Lord Howards, Major Packer and Captain Gladman to bee alsoe reinvested in their former commands. Major Generall Overton and Colonel Rich are likewise under debate to bee readmitted. That day att a Councill of warre the Lord Ingoldesbye's Captain Lieutenant and Major Babington's Lieutenant were adjudged to loose their commissions.¹ Munday Major Babington likewise comes uppon a triall. That day or the next a Generall Council of officers is intended, when an instrument for the next government is expected to bee reported. Some cittizens have lately lent a monthes pay to the forces heere, and 6 weekes more they doe expect suddenly. Our fleete is in the Sound; the Dutch fleete is nott yett come thither. The peace betweene Spaine and France is nott yett fully concluded, though the articles for that purpose are heere printed. G. M.

Captain Elsmore putt out of imployment.²

¹ See Ludlow's *Memoirs*, ed. 1894, ii. 62 n.

² George Elsmore, captain in Ingoldsby's late regiment.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

COLONEL SEXBY'S ADVICE ON FOREIGN POLICY¹

May it please your Highnesse,

Looking upon the intrest of all the faythfull in the nation, and my self with them, as being inbarked in that shipp that God hath made your Highnesse pilate off, I made bold, for preventing any warre that may arise to endanger or incommode her, to offer these following lines, (with submission) to your Highnesses perusall and consideration,

f. 126.

That it is England's and your Highnesse's intrest to prevent the making a generall peace is soe obvious to the weakest witt and dimest sight, that I shall not insist upon it to acquaint you what prejudice and danger would insue from it, your Highnesse being fully satisfied therein.

Nor in the second place shall further enlarge in giving reasons how much it were for your intrest and good of England to have some towne of concernement in France, which would not onely be a checke unto them, but an inlet to you at any time; from the Spaniard and Condé yow cannot expect any, they haveing none in their hands at present there that will be of any service to your Highnesse, being not upon the coast, therefore concerneing that shall say noe more. The maine thing I hint at and desire your Highnesse to waygh is, the preventing a generall peace, which if accomlishd will cause high words to be spoken abroad, which will very much heighten discontented

¹ *Rawlinson MS. A. lx. 126.* On Sexby's mission to France see Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, ii. 92, 356, 422, and the *Journal of Joachim Hane*, 1896, Preface, pp. xiv-xvii.

spirits at home ; encouragment for them to have there's noe need, as your Hignes dayly see.

The thing on which the conclusion of this peace hangs (if you conclud with the Dutch) is your Highnesses answer to the Spanish Ambassador, whose propositions to have yow joyne with them against France, (though many) will be reduced into these three heads.

1. To undertake the gaineing some place in France by your selves, which will divert the King of France's forces from them that they may with more ease doe there worke in other parts.

f. 126b. 2. If not alone, then jointly with them, and to divide what yow take, being at halfe the charge.

3. If not alone, nor conjoynd, then to lend them soe many shippes men and horse as to secure Rochell, St. Martins, and the Isle of Casow in the River of Garon, for there mony.

To all three I begg permission to give your Highnesse my pore simple judgement.

1. To the first of undertaking any thing upon your owne score by which yow declare a warre, will be very hazardious, England not being settled, and if it were, to undertake it as aforesaid yow must have your army consist of 20,000 foot, and 10,000 horse, and one hundred sayle of shippes at least ; in bank yow must have two millions ; upon entry yow must looke that all the power of France will appeare against yow, as being the formeddle enemy, and soe suffer Spaine to doe what he will in other parts, knowing if they beate yow they will quickly run away, and if once yow receive a foyle, there or in any part which is considerable that yow owne, it would be a very great dishonor to your Highnesse and discouragement to the whole nation.

2. To the second 'tis my thoughts it were better to doe it alone, if yow had wherewithall, then joynly yow owneing the warre, in that all the burden of gaineing field or garrison would ly upon your men, and that halfe what was gained should be theres would but trouble an . . . spirit, and create contest, and ingender a warre betwine them and yow in the end.

Now seeing a generall peace is very dangerous, and that it will be certainly effected if the Embassador be not answered in one of these three propositions, 2 of which being not safe for your Highness to undertake if [you] had wherewithall, please to consider the third.

1. The riske yow run therein is onely the lives of men, which if

[they] miscarry cannot be an evell laid to your score, because the end was good and designe probable.

2. It can be no riske, danger, or breach betwine yow and France in lending or permitting them to hire shipps, men, and horse for their mony, managing of it as I shall hereafter propose, but on the contrary, because of higher submition and greater condysention then yow have or can expect, as well as advantages for the present, and in a way of accomplishing what may be much greater for the future, if [you] gaine or accomplish what is designed, of which their is much probability, and litle doubt, except God hath designed the contrary, as will appeare by the following reasons.

1. It would take away the greatest part of the King of France's revenue, by which he would be rendered more incapable to disserve you and serve himselfe.

2. It would bring in two hundred thousands pounds per yeare in customes and excise, besides all charges borne, from which two places now yow have not twenty, soe fearme it upon that price, if settled there I would undertake it.

3. It would keepe a strickt hand and tie upon the Dutch, yea an emptier purse, and make the English more full, by ordering greater custums for the one to pay then thother, which might be done very justly, your Highnesse well knowing in the Sound we pay three times the customes they doe, as well as in other parts. Now there is not any place in Europe they drive a greater trade to then those two places.

4. The secureing those two places will give a true discrimination of the protestons hearts, who have professed as largely with there tongues to mee, as well as under there hands, (as any people ever did), what they would doe if ever a power appeared, that they might confide in, from England.

5. It will not onely divert your enemies designs in forraigne parts against yow, but bring in the Irish, the major part of the enemies infantry, to serve you.

6. It will red yow of all discontented spirits at home, it being greater wisdom to have them vent their passion on your enemies then on your selfe, or to keepe them in prison to haighten them or to spend them in the ruine of there bodies.

7. This undertaking as it may be managed will reduce yow most

part, if not all the Brest[?] men of warre, as well as make incapable the King of France's fleet, which will be noe small advantage to the marchants, and soe consequently to all England, in the flourishing
 f. 128. of trade the people's minds are at quite haveing there purses and bellys full.

8. Permitting this will render yow master of all the mines in India, the King of Spaine and his slaves your servants, the one in workeing to git the Tresurry, the other in fetching, coyneing, and bringing it to yow, to enable the party to carry on this designe, which is the exalting your Highnesse's intrest, and the accomplishing that designe your soule desire[s] to see effected.

9. It will make all the King of Spaine's fleet to be at your command, in that most of the marriners and souldiers therein are strangers, who affect the English nation above all others, upon which score yow may either draw them away to yow, or make them to declare they will not serve him any longer, except he give them him to command over them they shall desire.

10. It will bring the victuelling of all the Spanish fleet, &c. cloathing his army, into England, which will bee noe small advantage.

Haveing given my reasons for concurrence to the third proposition, I shall humble offer your Highnesse this way for the carrying on this bussinesse—

1. That it be undertaken by your selfe for privasie, which if not will be knowne, to order the number of shippes, foot, and horse, to such a place under such captaines as yow shall thinke fit, for the better transportation to the place designed.

2. That all the shippes yow here imploy be such as yow have taken from the Dutch, which will be the lesse cause of suspection, and can picke the least thereout against you after the bussinesse is effected, in case you see it not convenient to medle upon your owne account.

3. That the foot and horse be taken out of your Highnesse's army, soe many out of every regiment, and if that you doe not find it convenient to take all out therof, the person or persons that rayse any have commission from your Highnesse to rayse them as for Scotland, or Ireland, or to stay in England, to prevent any suspection.

f. 129. 4. The shippes of warre, as well as those for the horse, foot, and provision, to be ordered to the aforesaid place, there to receive further orders.

5. The person your Highnesse intended should command them not to be knowne to any with them till after set sayle, and then he to declare his orders are not to breake upp his commission till [he] come at such a place. Now my Lord, the commission for the executing the designe should be from the Prince of Condé, or Spaniard, soe that after they were at sea they should be declared to be shippes, men, and horses rayased upon the Spaniards' and Prince's score, the same permission said to bee given to the King of France or any other, if he or they desire it, and would give security the men levied by them should not serve the intrest of Charles Steward against England, which he will not, nor can never doe.

Also please take notice the Spaniard will presse your Highnesse to assist them in taking Callis, concerneing which doe not medle for the present, for if your Highnesse had it, it would bee 2 hundred thousand pownds a yeare charge to England, and noe advantage except ready to enter with an army of 30000 men, but if the other place be once gained and in safe hands your Highnesse will then know what to doe, and then yow shall not need fight for a towne on this side, I can assure yow if your Highnesse will except of it.

In the next and last place please to note the Spaniard, if [he can] not f. 13) ingage yow in the first two propositions, will demande how much mony your Highnesse will take for the rayseing, armeing, cloathing, and transporting soe many men and horse as will accomplish the worke, with fiftenth shippes of warre, consisting of betwene 20 and 30 gunes apeece, and 5 fire shippes, likewise for 6 months provision and pay for them.

Inprimis.—For 1000 foot, rayseing, armeing, cloathing, and transporting, and paid by you till there arrive, at 8^{li} a man amounts to 8000^{li}.

	<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For 6000 foot	48,000	00	00
It. For 1500 horse at 25 ^{li} a man amounts to . . .	37,500	00	00
It. For 15 shippes of warre 6 months, with fire shippes to hire, will amount to	30,000	00	00
It. For a small traine and provisions	50,000	00	00
Sume	165,500	00	00

But it would be necessary for your Highnesse to aske of them at least 300,000^{li}, and they to pay them from the first day of there landing.

To shew your willingnesse to the effecting of which, your Highnesse may tell them, if there occasions be soe as they cannot disburse such a sume at present, that your Highnesse will give them for one hundred of the three, five monthes liberty for payment, he ingageing in his Master's behalfe to see yow satisfied at the end thereof.

Also I desire your Highnesse to take notice that I would bring into your owne Tressury out of the foregoeing sume the odd sixty five thousand five hundred powns (if your Highnesse will be pleased to follow my pore counsell) without doing wrong to any person.

[Endorsed :] Col. SEXBY.

APPENDIX B

EDWARD MONTAGU'S NOTES ON THE DEBATES IN THE PROTECTOR'S
COUNCIL CONCERNING THE LAST INDIAN EXPEDITION¹*The Grounds of the undertaking the Designe of Attemptinge
the Kinge of Spaine in the West Indies*

April 20, 1654.—Upon the peace concluded with the Dutch wee found 160 sayle of brave shippes well appointed swiminge at sea & store of land forces, all which required either to be lessend and layd downe, or to be employed in some advantageous designe.

1. The designes considerable to us were either to attempt upon France, whereto the Spaniard would have bene considerably helpfull ;

2. Or to attempt upon Spaine with the helpe of France ; or to have had freindshipp with both, supposinge wee might have had good summs of money from both soe to doe.

The attempt upon France was apprehended difficult and unprofitable, the Spaniard's aims beinge but to sett us two together by the eares, and then, if he had failed us in point of assistance, yett wee should not have found it easie to be disengaged againe. Also the weakening the French and greatening the Spaniard beinge the greatest prejudice to the Protestant cause all over Europ, the Spaniard beinge the greatest enemy to the Protestants in the world, and a nation of greate councill, and harder to be disposessed of any accesse of greatnesse : the French not soe bitter against the Protestants ; a people not to be kept from intestine divisions, and easilyer disturbed and distracted then the other at any tyme.

2. The attemptinge the Spaniard ; the most profitable of any in the world. The assistance of the French more sure then the other. The bodies of men more scarce with him, and soe not soe difficult either to be attempted, nor soe much to be feared in offendinge us : his territories very greate and may well admitt a sound losse : the greatest enemye to the Protestant cause in the world ; an old enemye to

¹ From the Papers of the Earl of Sandwich at Hinchbrook, vol. i. p. 49. Both are written in Edward Montagu's hand.

this nation when it prospered best ; and the feasibility of gaining the West Indies from him. All which invites us both to action and that in this particular designe.

Now then for the attempting him in the West Indies wee considered his present posture and possessions there, and the manner of his bringing home into Europe his treasure.

His possessions there are Hispaniola & Cuba, Mexico and Peru, the Quarraccas,¹ and other parts adjoining. The posture he is in is this, he hath some garrisons and forts there, principalye (in Hispaniola) Santo Domingo, a towne well fortified towards the sea, but not soe to the landward ; in it 300 soldiers, besides the inhabitants. (In Cuba) the Havana, a stronge fort but weakest to the landward. In the continent, Portabell upon the North sea, and Panama upon the South sea about 40 miles distant, and not soe stronge to the landward. Breifly he hath very few bodies of men, viz. soe many as will man his garrisons and kepe his slaves to worke, but the country very considerably planted. The manner of his gettinge his treasure is thus : The cheife of his plate mines is in Peru, though there be some in Mexico and the Quarraccas. Now he keepes 4 or 5 gallioones in the South Sea constantly, and these receive the oare and carry it to Panama, from Panama they carry it by land to Portabell, where the Spanish plate fleet receives it and bringes it unto Europe. The Spanish fleete comes to the Havana by the Summer Islands, and soe on betweene Hispaniola and the Quaraccas, all which way they have a very stronge current round about the bay of Mexico and a trade wind, by reason whereof it is impossible for a shipp to returne that way backe againe, soe that when they have received theire loadinge from Portabell by the helpe of smalle vessells they goe on with the current and passe into the ocean from the Havana, which is the only way they can returne by ; betweene Cuba and la Florida, and soe they come away for Spaine.²

Now towards this attempt, it was considered (1) whether wee should make a partiall worke of it this yeare, an entrance for a future carriege the whole ; (2) or to make a thorough worke and putt for all this summer.

Capt. Hatsell and Capt. Lymerye (both which have lived and

¹ Caraccas.

² On the question of the route taken by the Spanish fleets to and from America, see Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, ii. 366, and Thomas Gage's *New Survey of the West Indies*, ed. 1655, pp. 15-22, 196-202.

traded in Hispaniola) inclined to a beginnunge of the worke only this yeare, which they propounded thus viz : to possesse Hispaniola and the Havana only, which they apprehend very feasible, and that being done wee have command of the Spaniard's fleete, that he cann neither goe nor come, and soe he hath absolutely lost the benefitt of the Indies. Then we have the advantage of Hispaniola (a country beyond compare as they describe it) for the transplantinge as much of our people from New England, Virginia, the Barbadoes, the Summer Islands, or from Europe, as we see requisite. Wee have the advantage of the wind to fall upon him where we will in the continent ; and in short have (without much scruple) opportunity to carry the whole. Others thinke the whole worke to be attempted, upon these grounds : The advantage of it, the greatest that can be thought upon in the whole world : the Spaniard's plate fleete may be taken ; our preparations sufficient ; the Spaniard engaged in a warr with France, and very weake every where at the present, in soe much as he knew not where to gett 2000 men to relieve Catalonia this last summer.

General matters, as our settlement at home, Scotland beinge not in our view to be settled without a transplantation of 8 or 10000 bodies of men every yeere, or else to maintaine a chargeable warr or force to secure them, and soe in England a considerable vent of men is necessary.

The worke is like to be more acceptable to the people of all sorts and the Parliament then any can be.

And if this opportunitie be omitted, it is to be doubted whether ever we shall be soe well fitted for it, or get the consent of a Parliament to doe it.

The inconveniences in our view.

1. The losse of the Spanish Trade, whereby much of all the cloath and stuffs are vented, and Spanish woolls imported, and our fishing trade to Newfoundland lost, whereby only we import yearly from Spaine 150,000^l in peeces of 8.

This is thus answered ; first that notwithstandinge our warr with the Spaniard in America, it is possible, if not reasonable to expect that wee may have peace and trade in Europe, for his necessitie of our trade will require it, but especially his interest in Flanders, which he hath no way either to relieve with forces or monyes but through our Channell, which if hee have warr in Europe he will certainly be debarred of.

Secondly it is said that a full trade with Portugall (which wee can have as wee will) will be neere as good as the other. The importation of bullion will not be considerable to be answered if this designe succeeds.

2. Our other trade in the Streights will be carried on with greater difficultye.

Resp^t that that will not proove soe, for haveing peace with the French (which must be supposed upon this war) we shall have the benefitt of their freindshipp and harbours upon the Mediterranean sea, which are much more usefull for us then the Spaniards'.

3. The Dutch gaini[n]ge the Spanish trade wholly and encreasinge in their riches by all their other trade may be invited to a revenge.

Resp^t. Deus providebitt.¹

France esteeme[s] Holland a people not to be trusted, of noe faith because in the peace of Munster with the Spaniard, and also in the peace with England, they did not comprehend the Kinge of France, which by theire alliance with France they were bound to doe. Upon the conclusion of the peace with England the State of Holland did give a secret article they would never give theire consent to choose the present Prince of Orange or any that shall descend from him Generall of their forces or Stateholder. Which article hath bred a greate and hartly division amonge all the states which hath noe support soe considerable as France, and upon this account their interest as to France seemes to be much changed.

The advantages of a Peace between France and England.

1. The hinderinge of a peace betweene the two great crownes.
2. Countenance and justification to the Protestant cause and partye.
3. Discountenance to our rebells in Scotland and fugitives.

¹ The following passage, though occurring in the text here, was evidently added later, and is therefore printed as a footnote:

'My Lord Protector's disposition of his fleete, 160 sayle, May 1654.

In the Channell.	The Streights.	Scotland.	Ireland.	W. Indies.	Newfoundland.
40	16	8	8	30	8

The rest layd up and paid off.'

[*A Debate in the Protector's Council*]¹

July 20, 1654.—Wee cannot have peace with Spain out of conscience to suffer our people to goe thither and be idolators. They have denied you commerce unlesse you be of theire religion.

Lambert.

1. The work improbable.
2. To farr off, haveing greater concernements of setli[n]ge at home.
3. Not like to advance the Protestant cause ; or gaine riches to us or vent [for] troublesome people in England, Ireland, or Scotland.
4. The case at first wrong stated. The chardge not well considered. The regulation of our lawe and other concernements not well taken care of it.

The settlement of Ireland in its government. Transplantation or not transplantation ? Better wayes of vent for our people may be found then it.

Protector Resp.

Wee consider this attempt, because wee thinke God has not brought us hither where wee are but to consider the worke that wee may doe in the world as well as at home, and to stay from attemptinge untill you have superfluitye is to putt it off for ever, our expenses beinge such as will in probabilitye never admitt that.

Now Providence seemed to lead us hither, haveinge 160 ships swimminge : most of Europe our enemyes except Holland, and that would be well considered also : we thinke our best consideration had to keep up this reputation and improve it to some good, and not lay them up by the walls. Thence wee came to consider the two greate crownes, and the particular arguments weighed, we found our opportunitye point this way.

It was told us that this designe would cost little more then laying by the shippes, and that with hope of greate profit.

L[ambert's] reply.

Our armye in Scotland and armye and inhabitants in Ireland must quit the countrey, or you must find more treasure ; or else the West

¹ The heading to this paper is not in the MS., but added by the editor.

India designe must be lett fall, and if any of these fall upon us what account shall wee give to Parliaments for it?

Resp.

The probabilitye of the good of the designe, both for the Protestants' cause and utilitye to the undertakers, and the cost noe more for one twelve month then would disband the shippes.

L[ambert's] reply.

Denyes the feasibilitye, and the sendinge away these shippes to require noe supply for a twelve months; besides casualtyes of diseases and warrs that men are subject to, New England and the Barbadoes will not flocke to you in Hisp[aniola], unlesse you be settled there in peace. Spaniard will certainly struggle as much as he can to preserve it. Whenever you doe lay downe your shippes the chardge will be much encreased and must be paid.

Resp.

Its hoped the designe will quitt cost. Six frigotts nimble [?] shall range up and downe the bay of Mexico to gett prey.¹

¹ Papers of the Earl of Sandwich at Hinchinbrooke, vol. i. p. 55. All in Edward Montague's hand.

APPENDIX C

AN ACCOUNT OF THE FALL OF THE PROTECTOR, RICHARD CROMWELL,
IN A LETTER FROM NEHEMIAH BOURNE.

[This letter comes from the 'Massachusetts State Archives,' vol. 242, pp. 460-466. It appears to have been saved from the collections of Governor Hutchinson when his house was plundered in 1765. The Society is indebted to Mr. W. W. Dodge, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, for a copy of it. The contractions of the original have been extended.]

London 20 3 mo. 1659

Sr—I know your soule longeth earnestly to heare how matters goe with the people and caws of god, and alsoe the condition of this pore conflicting tossed nation ; and therefore though at this Juncture I have my hands and thoughts ful, and I hope you may have better intelligence from clearer heads, and such who have more leisure to give yow their particuler observations, yet I can not be altogether silent at such a day as this, wherein the lord Jehouah hath most eminently and signally once more appeared for his owne greate name, And hath soe farre owned the Interest of his sonne, And his pore servants in this Nation, who hath bene praying and waiting for him, yet little expecting his soe suddaine manifestation. In soe much that we are like men in A dreame, and almost Amazed at his unexpected appearans, in this late greate Revolution, And change of the whole Ciuill Gouverment of these Nations. The manner of which if I had time to lay before yow in al the strange Circumstances thereof, I know your harte, yea all that loue the lord, would wonder and Ascribe glory to him alone ; for there hath bene the clearest hand of god there in, that euer was seene, since the beginning of our laite trials And Conflicts, in soe much as there is not a man living who can in the least Challeng a share herein. For Although many worthy and Renowned persons haue bene labouring, yet that all Confes the halfe of this which is now brought about was not in their thoughts to obtaine at this season. I presume yow had by the last ships an Account of the siting of the laite Parlement, and of what A Mixture and Complexion they were of, they Consisting of thre sortes,

(viz) the old caualier, the new cortier, And the Commanwelth partie, who by very much were the most Inconsiderable as to Number Compared with either of the other. I doubte not but yow had an accompt of what they did at there entrance, And what great debates were Aboute A thing called the other hows. Therefore in a worde I shal onely hinte what more espetially concerns the late Counterplott, whos contriuer and Acter was onely the lord 'who as he is deepe in Counsell soe alsoe is wonderful in working.' About 28 days since the harts of most of the lords people (who were upon there watche both in the Nation, and espetially in the Citty), being greatly awakened and alarumed by the post hast that was made by the majority of the howse to Introdus Kingship, and with it al maner of Tirriny and oppression, both upon the Ciuill and Spiritual Liberties of the Saints, soe dearely purchased longe since by the pretious blood of our lord Jesus, And of late by the vast treasure and blood of soe many choyse Saints. And perceauing plainly that there Cause was desperat as to all human hopes, the honest party in the howse not being able to carry one voate, though neuer soe much Reason was on there side, which the other party Confessed they could not ouerthrow ; I say when things looked with this darke vissage, many of the good people (whose harts and hands the lord had in some measure kept cleane, And Innocent as to the laite general Apostacy),—pardon the expression for its two manifest—they began together to seeke the face of god, And consult what might be there duty at such a time. The lord was pleased to stirre up many of them to apply to the officers of the Armie (who were many of them about the Citty, but there forces scattered about the Countries), And several serius debates were had Amongst them, yet there harts generally down as to any greate exspectations, many tender soules, both in the Armie as also In other publick Employments, ready to give up their places, as not able to stand under there trusts, but Rather had there harts upon the winge, and were thinking of noe thing but suffering or quitting the place. But in a shorte time the generality of the officers of the army (who had not soe farre debauched there prinseples and spirits as to lick up there vomit without Reluctensy) began to gather blood and spirits, and came up to the superior officers, And began to worke upon them alsoe, who by this time were themselves Inclinaire to here, and Resolved to mete together, and whet up one anothers spirits, and Revive the good ould Cause for which they had bene ingaied soe

deeply. And accordingly they came together to Wallingford Hows, which is the Lord Fleetwoods Quarters, where was a general counsel held, and al things carried with much tendernes and sobernes, not haueing it in the least in there thoughts at this time (I am very confident being witnes) soe much as to cause the least interruption to the Parliament ; but findeing a concurans of spirit unanimously in the Armie to looke backe to what they had sworne And promised, And to take shame for there owne preuarications, they alsoe agreed to Represent there desires to the late Protector, and therein thought it Incumbent on them at this Juncture to asserthe there ould cause, the Rather that it was become a matter of scorne and Reproach euen to the members of Parliament. And noe wonder when as a greate number of them were scarce come from the nurs at the time when god brought us at first out of Egipt, and neuer understood his wonders there, nor at the Red Sea, and soe open were many of the Cauilers of Parliament that they said they would haue a Kinge And Lords before they [left] the howse. And what Kinge thinke yow ? I can tell because I haue good Authority for it ; this Gentleman, who they would have made soe much hast to dresse And set on horsebacke, was but to warme the saddle for another whome they better loued and liked, which now is unRidled more plainly. But to winde up thlis bottome. The Officers meeting as also ther Representations, did soe much truble and anger the two first parties In the Howse, yea the Protector (then soe called) was not pleased herewith, howeuer he kept his Countenans for the present upon the[in]. The Parleмент in greate hast past the Inclosed voats, and satt about it til 9 or 10 aclocke at night, And would here no desvation from those that desented, but in greate heate and displeasure shut it up. The officers of the Armie, though very quiet in language, and Carriages, yet not without sens how much the safety of the nation, as alsoe there owne, was in exstreme danger (the King of Scotts haueing at this time about 2000 officers comissionated in and aboute London, who kept there meeteings, greate preparations both for sea and land on the other side of the water, and he himselfe in disguise both in Flanders and Holland), they now Judged it the time to consulte there duty to god And the pore people of these nations, who were not like to be sould for Bondmen, but there very lives like to be at the mercy of there cruil and implacable Enimies, the designe of the Parleмент being uncouered, (viz) to vote Richard laite Protector General of the Armies, and soe giue him the sworde who

had sufficiently before appeared to discountenans the fathful officers, and imbrace flatterers, and creatuers of his owne, soe that he would soone have modeled (or Rather deformed) the Armie to his best purpos, A number alredy prepared to owne him as there general, who had assured him of a considerable interest in the armie. This voate being passed, the Protector the same time knowing wel that the armie were awakened, he sends for the officers to come to him ; unto whom when they were come, he gave his Comand to conforme to the Parlament voate, to departe and meete noe more, And threatened them if they shold disobay him who was there General ; which titel he had seuerall times before Assumed, And once esspetially A few daies before when he caused them to be drawne up in the Parke, where he presented himselfe to them under such a notion, and gave the souldiers mony (to small purpos, for they in there harts disauowed him). This being done he grew Jelous of the officers, though they soe far obayed him as they forbore any general meeting, And used al means to obtaine A right understanding ; for which purpos Fleetwood and Disborow and others went to him, and deswaded him from urging the Generalship by his Courtiers in the Parlament, which he promised them he would, And that there should be noe thing donne in it ; neuer the lesse the same hower or very little more, used al his Intrest, And his whole party joyned with the ould Cauiler to carry it on to make him General, which thinge soe hiely dissatisfied the whole Armie that the very Coman Soulgier cried out against it, and urged there officers to remember the cause for which they had soe many times bled. And now it began to worke to purpos. I was a witnes of most of thes things, and speake what I know, And I am certainly informed And believe it, That Fleetwood, And Disborow, and some others were appointed to be Seized on, but by providens escaped that plott. The evening before that breaking up these with some other officers held a counsel at Jameses House, to which place the protector sent, Requiring the two persons before mentioned to come to him to White Hall, where were assembled wth him, Coll. Goff, Coll. Whalley, Coll. Inglesby, Coll. Mills, and Lego, with seuerall of his new created lords, and his greate Seacritary, and the Lord Broghill. But the Gentlemen had soe timely warning of his designe, And having somewhat else under consideration that they excused there denial and appeared not. He at the same time had sent for his life guard, which was there with him, and a few broken companies, And two broken troops that were

seduced by these offisers ; And al the force his 7 Colinels could raise for him out of all there Regiments of horse and floott were not 3 Companies nor 2 troops, but there whole Regiments marched away, yea the Protector owne Regiment went away cleare from him to the Armie, who about midnight without sounde of Drum or Trumpet were at Randevoos, unanimously crieing up the good ould cause, And A Comanwealth, and noe single person. This night was the Brightest apperans of the lord that hath bene in our age, hazerd was exstreame greate, none knowing how the thing would take with the Souldiers til trial, And noe thinge but A poize upon there spirits could possibly have kept them soe quiet and Right, not withstanding all means possible was used to draw them to sheath there swords in there Fellows bowels, And could those offisers with him have made a party he would doubtles have put al into a flame. But in the morneing there was a cleare dissition and discouery of the lords hand, to Admiration of al ; for I am bould to say we were neuer in such a Crisis, neither could any man beleue such a thinge had bene possible as was now made practicable. And that night messages past betwixt White Hall and Jameses, there being two distant parties, neuertheless al means was used to perswade the Protector to Accomodate the Busines, And not to put al to Hazard. But he was lightened by false Suggestions, And hopes he had conceaued which he found to faile him, And in the Issue against his will he consented to breake up the Parlament, And for that cause sealed an Instrument and sent to the two Howses, And withal put forth a declaration hereinclosed ; all which was accordingly donne, which caused noe small stirre in the minds not onely of the broken Parlament but of the whole nation, yet through gods wonderful providens not a dropp of Blood shed, which is maruelus in our eies who beheld al. The Parlament being thus desolued, yow may Judge In what a condition affairs stood, the Protector, in a manner insignificant, haueing not lost onely the harts, But the name of an Armie, Noe power then visible, neither was any prouition made beforehand, nor Resolues taken what to declare for sum days after. I am suer all indeauours were made by the principal offisers in the Armie to pece and mende up that crakt Gouverment ; And I am suer what I say is truth, (haueing opertunity enough to know there debaits) the utmost they had in vew when this was first entered upon was, to Settle the Malitia in safe hands, take away his Negative, And Remove his Sicophants, and Parasits, And fill up the Counsel wth good and able

men. But none of all these would be granted, noe there must not one haire be touched, but rather Adventure the peace and safety of the nation. Now whilst for diuers days the things were under a close debate And consideration, The Malitia of the Citty and many considerable honest persons wel affected out of seuerall parts made their addres to the generall Counsel of officers, then siting dayly at Wallingford Howse, And with vnanimus Consent declared against touching the late made gouernment, or new strunge Instrument and Aduise, And were zelus to lay it wholly asside, and call the ould Parliament (as being the onely visible way and means of our Setlement And safety). Besides this all the Inferior offisers of the Armie, yea whole Regiments of Soulgers gave in there petitions for it, And almost al persons well affected Centered therein (though they had there fears, yet this was the best that could be found). I know this mett with much opposetion, And yet at length the prouidens of god brought it abought By means of A Comittie of the Armie, who mett A number of the old parliament men, Amongst which Sir Henery Vaine and Sir Arther Haselrigg, our two eminent good Instruments for the accomodating things betwixt them. And accordingly on the 7th of May they Satt, And there ould Speaker in the Chaire, which was to the reioyseing of the generality of honest harts, And the confution and Astonishment of the Enemy, yea of al strangers, And the Imbasaudors And Agents in Towne, who are scarce come to them selues to this day, But are filled wth wonderment to see such a total subuertion of A gouernment, And Behould all shops open, Tradesmen in there calings, And not a broken patte, as sum of them have expresed. Yea, and let me tel yow, This is noe lesse Admirable in the eyes of the most sober And godly, both within and without the Armie, considering what means was vsed to sett al in A flame both in Citty and Cuntry, But al proued vneffectual (the lord preuenting al such attempts). Dureing the Consults aboute the Gouerment to be Establisht yow will Imagin what spirit ronne thorow the nation. I shal onely minde yow againe, That there was labouring and Indeaouring to patch And Amend the broken Image (esspetially by the greate ones), But the meaner sorte of the offisers, together with the honest people that flocked in to them, Caried it cleare for this Parliament. Immediately after they were Sat, diuers of the Secluded members of 1647 Indeaouours to presse into the howse, And chalanged there places; And some small contest was betwixt them and others who had that care

and charge under there hands, But at last they withdrew, seeing what was Resolued, that none should sitt Butt such as were in 48, And had gonne alonge wth them in change of gouernment, In takeing of the Kinge and howse of Peers, vnles they would take the Ingaignment. Sins there Siting they chose a comittie of saifety about 12 days agoe : Lord Fleetwood, Lord Lambert, Sir Henery Vaine, Sir Arther Haselrige, Major Saleway, Mr Scott, Left-General Lodlow, Coll. Sidenham ; And on Saterdag last they chose A counsel of Staite, which being Setled the Comittie of Saifety determind. The General counsel of Officers haue likewise made a beginning to purge there owne body, By discarding some, And Restoreing others, who for contiens sake quited there comands under the old Protector, or were by him turned of as not seruing his turne, yea some of his ouldest and best freinds, (viz) Lord Lambert, Coll. Okey, Coll. Sanders, Major Packer, Capt. Gladman. And since have restored Sir Arther Haselricke, And diuers others alsoe are under Consideration to be Reinuested with there Comands, Amongst which is Coll. Whitham, Gouernor at Portsmouth. Of al which yow may here more particulerly hereafter, for they are now but beginning to worke. I have Inclosed sent yow some papers which may better informe yow then this scribled confused Naratiue, onely by this yow may gesse at things. And take this from my hand, that the Lord is present eminently In the Armie, with A sober, Serious, yet warme and lively Spirit of Zeale and Curage for him and his cause ; And if yow had seene them in all this laite agitations, you would Rather have judged them Lambs then Lions by there deportment and carrage, which much enlarges my Soule to hope that the lorde is abought to doe some greate worke by them. I am much conuersent with them in there meetings, And haue had optunity to know there spirits In this Juncture, which I reioyse in, and yet am not with out my fears. But I know the lord lives and reins, And his purposes and promises shal stand good to al Intents in all generations ; though we Are A backsliding and sinneful people, that have shamefully blotted out his name to set up our owne, yet he remains faithful and ful of compassion, And knowes how to recouer and heale vs, as alsoe to pardon vs freely for that names sake of his which we have profaned.

As for Scotland we have a ful and an Ample concurans of the Comanders in cheefe And al the Armie, who fully adhere to the Armie here ; And as if there had bene a Counsel held betwixt them In

coniunction, they alsoe vnanimusly crie up the ould Parliament And A Comanweltl, though they could not possibly know the thinge that was in debate.

As for Ireland they are quiet alsoe, the General of that Armie concurring with thes here, though there hath bene of laite A new Model begun After a patterne of what was first attempted here. And the Lord Henery Cromwel, there Comander, hath written his letters to the Lord Fleetwood that he shal aquies In the issue of what shal be donne here, soe that the fears of some upon that accounte are taken away very much.

As for our fleete now in the sounde, cossisting of 40 Ships of warr Comanded by Lord Mountague, we haue noe feare of them, because the generality of the Comanders are such who haue served A Comanwealth heretofore, And have tasted the differens betwixt one And other gouernment. In the narrow Seas and downes my Brother¹ is Comander In cheefe, Being Reare Admiral of England, who hath with his Squadron acknowledged And gladly Imbraced the change. Thus I have in breefe given yow A Rough Draught of the staite of affairs at this day, to the ende you may have your harte drawne forth to seeke in the behalfe of these poor nations that are thus frequently emptied from vessel to vessel, And Turned, yea overturned.

As for forraine newes, I beleeeve the unexpected change of this gouernment from monarkie to A free state And Comanwealth doth amaze our nighbors, And put them upon new Counsels, of which we shal suddanly be Informed.

The peace betwixt france and spaine is Reported by some to be Concluded, by others to be doubtful. And by al it is questioned, that if in caise it be not far gone Already, It wil be now Impeded, there being greate desier on both sides to Attaine a peace betwixt Spaine and England.

The Hollander hath made very greate preparations for warre, and is gonne to the Sounde with a fleete of men of warr ; we are in doubt what the Issue wil be when our Fleete and thers meete, we hope an expedent may be found to preserve peace, unles the Hollander be too deepe in the Confederacy betwixt spaine, France, And the Austrian faction, which is much suspected, for doubtles at this Juncture there is A coniunction of Counsels And forces of al the professed Enemies

¹ Rear-Admiral John Bourne.

of Christ, And there designs are laide aganst him and his interest very deeply and strongly. But truly we are in some measure Raised in our hopes that the lord hath begunne to breath a spirit of life in deade bones, which he is gathering together to declare his power in them. Wherefore I beseech yow strive togeather earnestly with the lord that he wil Arise and have mercy upon Sion, for we hope the time is comeing wherein he will be Jealus for his people, and wil thrash the mountains of the world. And in parteculer pray for me and my family, that by all the winnowings and Siftings we may find the frute of his spirit, as it is a spirit of Judgment and burning.

If oppertunity offer, And that I can Redeem soe much time, I shal Indeaour to communicate what shal come to my knowlidge worthy of your vew, for certainly very greate things are upon the wheele.

END OF VOL. III.

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